

SENATE.

FRIDAY, April 24, 1908.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. EDWARD E. HALE.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. KEAN, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Journal stands approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. R. 48) instructing the Attorney-General to institute certain suits, etc.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 15852) to confer title in fee and to authorize the disposition of certain lots now situate on Hot Springs Reservation, in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice-President.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a memorial of sundry citizens of North Vernon, Ind., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to protect the first day of the week as a day of rest in the District of Columbia, and also to prohibit labor on buildings in the District of Columbia on the Sabbath day, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented petitions of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and of the Associated Press, praying for the repeal of the duty on white paper, wood pulp, and the materials used in the manufacture thereof, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented memorials of Local Union No. 70, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, of Livermore Falls; of Local Union No. 15, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, of Lisbon Falls, in the State of Maine; of Local Union No. 130, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, of Watertown; of Local Union, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, of Watertown, and of Local Lodge No. 1, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, of Fort Edward, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against the repeal of the duty on white paper, wood pulp, and the materials used in the manufacture thereof, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KEAN presented petitions of sundry citizens of Bridge-ton, Medford, Trenton, New Brunswick, Williamstown, and Glassboro, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the adoption of certain amendments to the so-called "Sherman antitrust law," relating to labor organizations, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the petition of Rufus W. Smith, of Elmer, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the construction of at least four new battle ships, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Presbytery of Newton, N. J., remonstrating against the repeal of the present anticanteen law, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Political Study Club, of Elizabeth, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation to establish a national forest reserve in the Southern Appalachian and White Mountains, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Town Improvement Association of Summit, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation to regulate the employment of child labor in the District of Columbia, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT presented petitions of sundry citizens of Cohoes, Corning, New York City, Olean, Oneonta, Oswego, Syracuse, and Utica, all in the State of New York, praying for the adoption of certain amendments to the so-called "Sherman antitrust law" relating to labor organizations, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CULLOM presented a petition of Local Union No. 250, Cigar Makers' International Union, of Belleville, Ill., and a petition of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Bloomington, Ill., praying for the adoption of certain amendments to the so-called "Sherman antitrust law" relating to labor organizations, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. DEPEW presented a memorial of the Lake Seamen's

Union of North Tonawanda, N. Y., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to amend section 4463 of the Revised Statutes relating to the complement of the crews of vessels, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Merchants' Association of New York City, N. Y., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called "Crumpacker bill" providing for the employment of additional clerks for the taking of the Thirteenth and subsequent censuses, which was referred to the Committee on the Census.

He also presented a memorial of the Robert Emmet Association, of Cohoes, N. Y., remonstrating against the ratification of the treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to prevent obstructive and injurious deposits within the harbor and adjacent waters of New York City, by dumping or otherwise," etc., which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, praying for the enactment of legislation to increase the compensation of the district judges of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of Local Union No. 20, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, of Binghamton, N. Y., praying for the repeal of the duty on white paper, wood pulp, and the materials used in the manufacture thereof, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the New York State and Northern Pennsylvania Stove Manufacturers' Association, of Albany, N. Y., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations and to amend an act approved July 2, 1890, entitled "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies," which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. NELSON presented a petition of Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 77, of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the enactment of certain amendments to the so-called "Sherman antitrust law," relating to labor organizations, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BURNHAM presented a petition of the Granite Cutters' Association of Concord, N. H., and a petition of District Lodge, No. 42, International Association of Machinists, of Keene, N. H., praying for the enactment of certain amendments to the so-called "Sherman antitrust law," relating to labor organizations, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Central Federated Union of New York City, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the construction of at least one of the proposed new battle ships at a Government navy-yard, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of Local Union No. 30, of Berlin; of Local Union No. 24, of Concord, and of Local Union No. 9, of Franklin, of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, and of the New Hampshire Federation of Labor, of Concord, all in the State of New Hampshire, remonstrating against the repeal of the duty on white paper, wood pulp, and the materials used in the manufacture thereof, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. LODGE presented petitions of sundry citizens of Malden, Adams, Worcester, Milford, and Chicopee, all in the State of Massachusetts, praying for the adoption of certain amendments to the so-called "Sherman antitrust law" relating to labor organizations, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SCOTT presented petitions of sundry members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers and the Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association of America, of Follansbee; of sundry citizens of Newell, Point Pleasant, and Charleston, and of the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, of Wheeling, all in the State of West Virginia, praying for the adoption of certain amendments to the so-called "Sherman antitrust law" relating to labor organizations, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. McCUMBER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred certain bills granting pensions and increase of pensions, submitted a report (No. 562) accompanied by a bill (S. 6812) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the civil war and certain widows of such soldiers and sailors, and so forth, which was read twice by its

title, the bill being a substitute for the following Senate bills heretofore referred to that committee:

S. 77. Johnson Gammel;
 S. 528. William Weeden;
 S. 532. George Breckenridge;
 S. 585. Julia E. Willcox;
 S. 696. Robert A. Kerr;
 S. 897. William Donegan;
 S. 974. James H. Street;
 S. 986. Thomas L. Sims;
 S. 1117. Stephen Prior;
 S. 1156. Henry C. Jennings;
 S. 1333. Henry Thompson;
 S. 1345. Thomas Shults;
 S. 1535. Samuel L. Higgins;
 S. 1915. William Alexander;
 S. 1943. Horace Seward;
 S. 1944. Samuel H. Britts;
 S. 2077. Jesse Chapman;
 S. 2313. Charles W. Cary;
 S. 2358. Angeline C. Powell;
 S. 2593. Thomas L. Ward;
 S. 2704. Rufus G. Tole;
 S. 2715. Charles Coddington;
 S. 2877. Michael C. Caddle;
 S. 2930. Edwin Smith;
 S. 3079. Henry Kemmer;
 S. 3216. William A. Fiske;
 S. 3361. James T. Johnson;
 S. 3382. Eber B. Priest;
 S. 3522. Henry J. Porter;
 S. 3523. Joseph Woodland;
 S. 3825. Harry R. Bentz;
 S. 4342. Angie E. Kerr;
 S. 4348. Edward Thompson;
 S. 4381. William Shattuck;
 S. 4405. Jacob H. Dewees;
 S. 4484. William I. Dossett;
 S. 4622. Sidney F. Sanborn;
 S. 4743. Thomas A. Walters;
 S. 4744. Alfred Johnson;
 S. 4745. Elizabeth Grass;
 S. 4746. Butler Oleson;
 S. 4754. Caleb F. Bandle;
 S. 4760. George Newland;
 S. 4840. Alonzo Greenleaf;
 S. 4925. Richard H. Shapland;
 S. 5113. Amos P. Johnson;
 S. 5137. Richard C. Vanderford;
 S. 5234. John Milburn;
 S. 5239. George Towers;
 S. 5240. Charles E. Perry;
 S. 5256. James T. Moore;
 S. 5512. George Jacobs;
 S. 5736. Elijah E. Smedley;
 S. 5849. Jeremiah Regan;
 S. 5886. Leonard Goss;
 S. 5916. Ellen A. Smith;
 S. 5970. James Karr;
 S. 6019. Francis O'Leary;
 S. 6137. William B. Jones;
 S. 6143. Thomas Chase;
 S. 6166. Peter Claude;
 S. 6169. John Stuckey;
 S. 6187. George W. Ellis;
 S. 6209. Thomas Ashton;
 S. 6213. Isaac Daniels;
 S. 6218. George H. Scougale;
 S. 6271. Mary Elizabeth McCann;
 S. 6276. Cornelius Teal;
 S. 6279. George H. McIntire;
 S. 6296. Henry C. Doyle;
 S. 6323. Ruhamah D. Sawyer;
 S. 6329. George F. Pond;
 S. 6330. Lindly Cox;
 S. 6341. Charles H. Edwards;
 S. 6361. Caleb H. Ellis;
 S. 6416. James Whyte;
 S. 6442. James L. Foss;
 S. 6466. Sarah E. Dodd;
 S. 6467. Edwin Smith;
 S. 6468. Thomas N. Bray;
 S. 6489. Evelina H. Sewall;
 S. 6500. Peter Dwyer;
 S. 6508. Eli H. Young;

S. 6522. Charles Crane;
 S. 6532. Louisa January;
 S. 6541. Alonzo B. Curtis;
 S. 6545. Thomas Handly;
 S. 6552. Margaret Thompson;
 S. 6564. William A. Champlain;
 S. 6567. Mary C. Hayes;
 S. 6571. Cyrus Wellington;
 S. 6575. Jennie Hammond;
 S. 6582. George W. Bennum;
 S. 6622. Emily D. Carnagua;
 S. 6627. Thomas Hooper; and
 S. 6765. Laura M. Granger.

Mr. DIXON, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 6543) to authorize the expenditure of the unexpended balance of the appropriation for subsistence and civilization of the Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 563) thereon.

Mr. BULKELEY, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them, each with amendments, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 40) to correct the military record of Mirick R. Burgess (Report No. 564); and

A bill (S. 5883) to correct the military record of John A. Oates (Report No. 565).

Mr. BOURNE, from the Committee on Fisheries, to whom was referred the bill (S. 4183) to establish a fish-cultural station on the Tucannon River, in the State of Washington, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 566) thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. KEAN introduced a bill (S. 6813) providing for the restoration and retirement of Frederick W. Olcott as a passed assistant surgeon in the Navy, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 6814) granting a pension to Frank M. Swan, which was read twice by its title and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. DILLINGHAM introduced a bill (S. 6815) for the relief of Hosmer, Crampton & Hammond, and others, which was read twice by its title and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DICK introduced the following bills, which were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs:

A bill (S. 6816) amending section 1443 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, providing for the retirement of officers of the Navy; and

A bill (S. 6817) to reorganize and enlist the members of the United States Naval Academy Band.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 6818) to permit George S. Todd, of Cortez, Colo., to enter, under the coal-land laws of the United States, certain lands in the Mesa Verde National Park, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. ANKENY introduced a bill (S. 6819) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at the city of Port Angeles, in the State of Washington, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. PAYNTER introduced a bill (S. 6820) granting an increase of pension to Julia Merrick Tisdale, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. NEWLANDS introduced the following bills, which were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 6821) for the relief of W. J. Goodwin; and

A bill (S. 6822) for the relief of the heirs of George S. Simon.

Mr. McCUMBER introduced the following bills, which were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 6823) granting an increase of pension to Margaret K. Hern;

A bill (S. 6824) granting an increase of pension to John Hancock; and

A bill (S. 6825) granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Hurst.

BERING LAKE BRIDGE, ALASKA.

Mr. CURTIS. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 6539) to authorize the Copper River and Northwestern Railway Company to construct a bridge across Bering Lake, in the district of Alaska.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be read for the information of the Senate.

The Secretary read the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. TELLER. Has the bill just come in?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is upon the Calendar, having been reported from the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. CURTIS. It is a unanimous report from the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to look at the bill, and I object to its consideration this morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection is made, and the bill will retain its place on the Calendar.

Mr. TELLER subsequently said: The bill I objected to a few moments ago is not the bill I supposed it was, and so I withdraw my objection.

Mr. HALE rose.

Mr. CURTIS. I hope the Senator from Maine will yield and allow the bill to be passed. It has been read, and the objection is withdrawn.

Mr. HALE. Very well, if it does not give rise to any debate.

Mr. CURTIS. I will withdraw it if there is to be debate.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. CULLOM submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$10,000 for the preparation of the reports and material necessary to enable the Secretary of State to utilize and carry out the work partly performed by the Joint High Commission of 1898 for the settlement of questions relating to Canada, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SCOTT submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$3,000,000 for the purchase, condemnation, or otherwise of the whole of squares Nos. 226, 227, 228, 229, and 230 in the city of Washington, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. CARTER submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$3,800 to grade and improve Otis place, from Tenth street to Holmead place, in the District of Columbia, intended to be proposed by him to the District of Columbia appropriation bill, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO OMNIBUS CLAIMS BILL.

Mr. PLATT submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to House bill 15372, known as the "omnibus claims bill," which were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

WATERWAY FROM BOSTON, MASS., TO WILMINGTON, N. C.

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask for the present consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 75) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to make a survey and examination for a continuous waterway from Boston, Mass., by various routes to Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. HALE. What is the regular order?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The regular order is bills and joint resolutions. The Senator from North Carolina has asked unanimous consent for the consideration of a joint resolution on the Calendar.

Mr. KEAN. I understand that the joint resolution involves a large expenditure of money. I object to its consideration.

Mr. SIMMONS. If the Senator will permit me, it does not involve a large expenditure.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection is made to the present consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. KEAN. Let us have the regular order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The regular order is demanded. If there are no further bills and joint resolutions, concurrent or other resolutions are in order.

MESSENGER TO COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Mr. KEAN submitted the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That from and after the 30th day of June, 1908, the position of messenger to the Committee on Organization, Conduct, and Expenditures of the Executive Departments, provided for by resolution of January 31, 1902, be, and the same is hereby abolished, and in lieu thereof the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of State be, and it is hereby authorized to employ a messenger at an annual salary of \$1,440, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate until otherwise provided for by law.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT EVERETT, WASH.

Mr. ANKENY. I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 4242) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Everett, in the State of Washington.

Mr. KEAN. Let us have the regular order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The regular order is demanded.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. M. C. LATTA, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had, on April 23, 1908, approved and signed the following act: S. 1424. An act to increase the efficiency of the Medical Department of the United States Army.

FOREST SERVICE EMPLOYEES.

Mr. HEYBURN. Mr. President, I call up Senate resolution No. 157. It has already been read. I presume there will be no opposition to it, inasmuch as it merely calls for information that it will be necessary for the Senate to have in its possession in considering the agricultural appropriation bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. HEYBURN on the 22d instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Agriculture be, and he is hereby, directed to send to the Senate a statement containing the name and official designation of any officer or employee of the Forest Service who has attended any meeting or convention during the year 1907; whether such convention was official or unofficial; the place from which such employee started to attend such convention; the place of his employment, and the amount of expense incurred by reason of such attendance upon such meeting or convention which has been paid by the Government.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

LAND AT PEKING, CHINA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress a communication from the Secretary of State, submitting a draft of a bill providing for the transfer to the Bank of Indo-China of a certain lot of land located at Peking, China, and now the property of the United States, said transfer being in consideration of the transfer to the United States by the Bank of Indo-China of three lots of land located in the said city.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 24, 1908.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 603) granting an increase of pension to John A. M. La Pierre.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 20120) to authorize the construction of a railroad siding to the United States navy-yard, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 20120. An act to authorize the construction of a railroad siding to the United States navy-yard, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. HALE. I ask that the naval appropriation bill be taken up.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed consideration of the bill (H. R. 20471) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, and for other purposes.

Mr. HALE. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] desires to submit some remarks to the Senate and has given notice to that effect. I yield for the present to him.

RURAL DELIVERY ROUTES.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, I ask to have read the amendment which I offered to the post-office appropriation bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read the amendment submitted by the Senator from Alabama.

The Secretary read as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. BANKHEAD to the bill (H. R. 18347) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, and for other purposes, viz: At the end of line 14, page 27, insert the following: "Provided further, That a sum not to exceed \$500,000 of this appropriation may be expended by the Postmaster-General, in cooperation

with the Secretary of Agriculture, in improving the conditions of the roads over which rural delivery routes are, or may be, hereafter established, to be selected by them for the purpose of ascertaining the possible increase in the territory which could be served by one carrier, and the possible increase of the number of delivery days each year, the amount required for proper maintenance in excess of local expenditure for rural delivery routes, and the relative saving to the Government in the maintenance of rural delivery routes by reason of such improvements: *Provided further*, That the State or county, or counties, which may be selected for improvement of rural delivery routes therein under this provision shall furnish an equal amount of money for the improvement of the rural route so selected."

Mr. BANKHEAD. I ask the Secretary to read the resolution passed by the House of Representatives March 14, 1818, a copy of which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That Congress has power under the Constitution to appropriate money for the construction of post-roads, military and other roads, and of canals, and for the improvement of waterways.
Passed by House of Representatives March 14, 1818.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, the question that I am about to discuss is not a new one. The speedy delivery of the mails and the transportation and distribution of production has claimed the attention of our most enlightened and constructive statesmen since the organization of the Government. The transportation and distribution of products is of more importance than production itself. It is the surplus which we sell that makes us richer, adds to the bank accounts, and cancels the mortgage. What the producer consumes at home adds nothing to our wealth. It is that which he sells and transports to the market that makes him rich. If the cost of transportation to the producer is equal to the difference between the cost of production and the selling price there is no profit. Indeed, he is poorer, because his land is being exhausted, his team and his wagon wearing out, the deposits of his mine are being removed, his timber is being consumed, and his manufacturing plant is undergoing wear and tear, all without net results. In all classes of agriculture and in all lines of manufacturing and trade economy of transportation is an important item in the amount of profit. There are three methods for the transportation of commerce—the railroads, waterways, and the common highways or dirt roads. I need not discuss the first method. It has been the subject of extensive discussion, legislation and judicial construction, with which we are all familiar. Transportation by water has been liberally provided for by Congress. The dirt roads, over which 90 per cent of the internal commerce of the country must be moved first or last, have been sadly neglected.

The time has arrived when Congress must meet the great question of national road improvement fairly and squarely and give it that thoughtful and serious consideration which it deserves. The farmers are being aroused, and already the National Grange, with a membership of more than a million farmers, is calling upon us for action in this matter. Another great organization, the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, is urging legislation in the same direction. Mr. President, the hordes of southern Europe and the menace of alien races may cast their sinister shadows over our great cities, but, sir, that great, silent, patient element of our population, the American farmer, is American through and through. The very citadel of American liberty and its most cherished traditions are guarded by the farmers, who are 91 per cent native born and constitute more than one-third of our population.

These men have contributed to the wealth of the United States to an extent which staggers the imagination. The corn crop of 1907 alone was worth \$1,350,000,000; the hay crop was worth \$660,000,000; the cotton crop was worth \$675,000,000, and the wheat crop was worth over \$500,000,000. Mr. President, it will be observed that either one of these great agricultural crops has produced more actual wealth in one year than the combined output of all the gold and silver mines in the world and \$100,000,000 more. The grand total of all crops for 1907 was nearly seven and one-half billion dollars, and it is estimated that the farmers of this country have created during the last nine years \$53,000,000,000 worth of wealth. The value of agricultural crops exported in 1906 was \$969,457,306, or 56½ per cent of the total exports, and but for the export of agricultural products the balance of trade would have been against the United States by \$523,127,533. When the machinations of Wall street, the dangerous practices of high finance, and the injustice of our tariff system bring upon us the woes of financial stringency, industrial depression, and hard times, we must realize that the tillers of the soil form the real basis of our wealth, and that to the creation of real wealth we should lend our aid.

But it is not only the rural population that demands aid from the Government in the upbuilding of our public roads. The numerous resolutions of the boards of trade, chambers of commerce, associations of manufacturers, and the open advocacy of many of our great railroad companies, indicate clearly that it only needs an organization of all these forces to bring about the united and effective efforts of city and country. Modern inventive genius is responsible for a new factor in the problem of transportation which must be reckoned with in legislating for public roads. The automobile industry has now reached to \$110,000,000 per annum, and the makers and users of automobiles will soon find a plane upon which they can mutually press forward with the farmer in his efforts to obtain better roads. The time will come, during the lifetime of Senators who do me the honor to listen, when the traction engine and the automobile will be utilized on the improved dirt road in hauling to the market farm and forest products at a minimum cost, supplying the place of millions of horses and mules now employed in transportation.

Mr. President, it is sufficient to call attention to resolutions passed by the legislatures of Maine, Tennessee, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Alabama, New York, and other States, with reference to national aid, to show how widespread is the sentiment among our State legislatures upon this subject. When all these powers and factors unite their efforts there will be such an era of internal improvement, of home building, of home beautifying, of wealth creation, that the waste places will be filled, squalid huts will give place to beautiful homes, the desert will blossom as the rose, and all the shocks and crashes of frenzied finance will fall harmless from the bulwarks of our splendid prosperity.

The objection is made that such legislation would be unconstitutional. Fortunately, for our guidance, the question of national aid is not a new one. We have the precedent of national-aid legislation by Congress while the founders of our Government lived to know and approve of it. The first appropriation made was in 1806, when \$30,000 was set aside for the purpose of commencing work on the famous old Cumberland road. These appropriations then continued, with but little interruption, until May 25, 1838, when the last appropriation of \$150,000 was made, which made the total amount expended on road construction during this period about \$7,000,000.

On March 14, 1818, the House of Representatives passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That Congress has power under the Constitution to appropriate money for the construction of post-roads, military and other roads, and of canals, and for the improvement of waterways.

Mr. President, what was the attitude of the leading statesmen in the early days of the Republic? Thomas Jefferson said, in a letter to Mr. Lieper, in 1808:

Give us peace till our revenues are liberated from debt, and then, if war be necessary, it can be carried on without a new tax or loan, and during peace we may checker our whole country with canals, roads, etc. This is the object to which all our endeavors should be directed.

James Madison, in a message to Congress, said:

I particularly invite the attention of Congress to the expediency of exercising their existing powers, and, where necessary, of resorting to the prescribed mode of enlarging them, in order to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country, by promoting intercourse and improvements and by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity.

Henry Clay advocated the building of national roads in a speech made in Congress in 1818, in which he said:

Of all the modes in which a Government can employ its surplus revenue, none is more permanently beneficial than that of internal improvement. Fixed to the soil, it becomes a durable part of the land itself, diffusing comfort and activity and animation on all sides. The first direct effect is on the agricultural community, into whose pockets comes the difference in the expense of transportation between good and bad ways. Thus if the price of transporting a barrel of flour by the erection of the Cumberland turnpike should be lessened \$2, the producer of the article would receive that \$2 more now than formerly.

Daniel Webster, speaking in the United States Senate in 1830, used the following language:

Under this view of things I thought it necessary to settle, at least for myself, some definite notions with respect to the powers of the Government in regard to internal affairs, and I arrived at the conclusion that Government had power to accomplish sundry objects or aid in their accomplishment, which are now commonly spoken of as internal improvement.

While it is true that Presidents Madison, Jackson, and Monroe vetoed acts of Congress relating to public roads, it is beyond dispute that the veto of President Monroe was due to a provision giving to the General Government the right of eminent domain and of general superintendence, and this is practically true of the other veto messages. President Jackson held

that the right of appropriation was not limited by the specified powers of the Constitution. In his veto message he said:

I have not been able to consider these declarations in any other point of view than as a concession that the rights of the appropriation is not limited by the power to carry into effect the measure for which the money is asked, as was formerly contended.

On May 4, 1802, President Monroe, in a veto message to Congress, used the following language:

That in whatever sense the term established is applied to post-offices it must be applied in the same sense to post-roads.

John C. Calhoun was a staunch advocate of the doctrine of State rights, and believed in a strict construction of the Constitution, but he was equally as pronounced in his belief that the Federal Government should take a hand in building and improving our common highways, rivers, and canals. In 1817 he introduced a bill in Congress to provide a fund for the construction of roads and canals, and, in support of this bill, he spoke in part, as follows:

Let it not be said that internal improvements may be wholly left to the enterprise of the State and of individuals. I know that much may justly be expected to be done by them; but in a country so new and so extensive as ours, there is room enough for all the General and State Governments and individuals to exert their resources. Many of the improvements contemplated are on too great a scale for the resources of States or of individuals, and many of such a nature that the rival jealousy of the State, if left alone, might prevent. They require the resources and general superintendence of the Government to effect and complete them.

But there are higher and more powerful considerations why Congress should take charge of this subject. If we were only to consider the pecuniary advantages of a good system of roads and canals it might indeed admit of some doubt whether they ought not to be left wholly to individual exertion, but when we come to consider how intimately the strength and political prosperity of the Republic are connected with this subject, we find the most urgent reasons why we should apply our resources to them. Good roads and canals, judiciously laid out, are the proper remedy. Let us, then, bind the Republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals.

While Secretary of War in 1819 Mr. Calhoun made a report to the House of Representatives on roads and canals, in which he said:

No object of the kind is more important and there is none to which State or individual capacity is more inadequate. It must be perfected by the General Government or not perfected at all.

It is not necessary for the exercise of a power by the Federal Government that it should be expressly granted in the Federal Constitution, or that it should be "clearly and directly traceable to some one of the specified powers" granted. Any number of the powers granted, or all of them, may be combined and considered together, and any power necessary to carry out the general purposes of any, or all, of the power specified, will be considered granted by implication, and as an incidental means of executing the powers specifically granted. (*Pennsylvania v. Wheeling Bridge Company*, 18 Howard (U. S.), 421.)

The Constitution, article 1, section 8, clause 1, provides, in part, that—

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

An appropriation of money for the improvement of the public roads of the country would certainly be for the general welfare of the United States, and it would seem that the Congress is clothed with ample authority, under this clause of the Constitution, to appropriate money for that purpose.

In addition to this, Congress has a stronger and more specific warrant for making this appropriation, under the authority conferred by the Constitution "to establish post-offices and post-roads." Cooley, in his book on Constitutional Law, says:

Every road within a State, including railroads, canals, turnpikes, and navigable streams, existing or created within a State, becomes a post-road, whenever, by the action of the Post-Office Department, provision is made for the transportation of the mails upon or over it.

This provision of the Constitution is growing every year in practical importance and in its relation to the public roads, owing to the extension of the rural delivery service.

On August 1, 1882, President Arthur vetoed a bill making an appropriation for rivers and harbors; but the commercial interests of the country, through organizations of boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and other business associations, had brought such pressure to bear upon Congress that sentiment was developed in favor of reviving appropriations for rivers and harbors, and this bill was promptly passed over the President's veto.

From that time on Executive favor and all constitutional argument seem to have yielded in favor of appropriations for river and harbor improvements; but, by a sort of passive acquiescence, it seems to have gone against public roads and highways; and yet the arguments accompanying each of the veto messages, from President Monroe to President Arthur, admitted that the principle of appropriating money for roads and rivers

and harbors was the same, and the same arguments were urged against each. If, then, appropriations for improving our rivers and harbors, involving the same principle as appropriations for improving our roads, is constitutional, why will not an appropriation for roads be constitutional? What valid constitutional objection is there to the one which does not lie against the other?

Post-roads and public highways are highways of commerce, as much so as are railroads or rivers and harbors. They are the small arteries of our commercial body, which extend out into the country and gather up and bring to the market, railroad station, and wharf the great volume of the raw products of the country, which are the real constituent elements of our commerce. They are equally indispensable to our commercial growth and welfare, and are equally deserving of the fostering care of our Government.

It is argued by many that the question of road improvement should be left entirely to the people of the States. It is argued that Federal aid savors too much of paternalism, and, therefore, the General Government should leave it alone; but this objection is irrational and without foundation. It is not proposed to appropriate money out of the National Treasury to aid the people in their private business. It proposes to appropriate public funds for a public purpose, which is not paternalism. Before any State can secure its share, or any portion of its share, of the money appropriated under the Federal aid proposition, it must first show an equivalent amount of self-help and invite the cooperation of the Government. This will be a direct stimulus to the States to put forth their very best efforts. Federal aid, therefore, instead of stifling and causing a relaxation of the efforts of the people of the States, places a premium upon their efforts.

If the Government should undertake to furnish us, without cost or individual effort, the necessities of life, that would be paternalism. If we were asking the Federal Government to prescribe our daily bread, or to provide us raiment to clothe our bodies, that would be paternalism pure and simple. Such a function of the Government would be enervating; it would destroy individuality and repress all energy and ambition; but we ask no such fatherly care at the hands of our Government. We only ask that it contribute a portion of the cost of improving our public roads, and, in making this contribution, it will so far from committing an unwholesome act of generosity, open up new and improved channels to the marts of trade and commerce, stimulate industrial enterprise, inspire every citizen of the rural districts with a brighter hope and a higher ambition, and add a new tie to bind him with increased loyalty and patriotism to his country.

Congress has been exceedingly generous in its appropriations for Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. It has spent large sums in these island territories for internal improvements, and much of it has been expended on the construction and improvement of the public roads. These appropriations were made to an alien people who add but a meager contribution to our national revenues, have but little more than humanitarian claim upon our Government, and have shown no thrift, no spirit of progressiveness, and no industrial enterprise or aptitude.

These appropriations, it would seem, have found a sanction under our Constitution and general public policy. If so, then what valid objection can be interposed to appropriating money for a similar purpose to our own people? Our own people deserve the first consideration at our hands. They have demonstrated to the world their superior thrift, energy, industry, and enterprise. It is from them that we derive our national greatness and our national revenues, and they have a right to expect to be first considered and to receive even-handed justice from our Government of its benevolence and the distribution of its revenues.

Another reason for national aid is to be found in the fact that nearly all of the great appropriations made by Congress are for projects that do not benefit the rural districts. The shipping interests have had the rivers and harbors improved, to expedite their business; the cities have been supplied, at a cost of \$300,000,000, with post-offices and custom-houses; the railroads have received large appropriations, and have made use of the credit of the Government; millions collected from the people have been loaned to the banks without interest, and iron masters have depended upon the Government to construct great locks and dams for facilitating the assembling of materials at cheap rates for making iron. The tariff laws have been shaped to benefit the manufacturers, but none of them are intended to benefit the great American farmer. Some of our ablest statesmen, and many of those most solicitous of the public welfare, often oppose measures which ultimately prove the greatest

been to the people. On the other hand, it has frequently happened that Congress, in its zeal to extend the blessings of our Government to the greatest number, has given its sanction to projects which savor more or less of futile experimentation. Congress, however, and I might say wisely so, has been slow to stamp its approval upon such legislative projects, but after they have once been inaugurated, and have met with popular favor, and proved a benefit to the people, it has been equally slow to take any step which would cripple their action or retard their development.

Mr. President, let us now consider the rural free delivery system, which is so intimately connected with roads. What has been the history of this service? The friends of this measure were a long time gaining the ear of Congress, and the question was agitated many years before it received legislative approval. It was regarded by many as an impractical theory, an iridescent dream, so, to give it a trial, Congress, in 1897, appropriated the sum of \$40,000, only \$10,000 of which was used the first year. This appropriation met with such popular favor, and there was such a demand for rural delivery that it was not only renewed, but increased by 25 per cent in 1898. The appropriation of 1898 was increased by 200 per cent for 1899, and an equal rate of increase has continued for each of the eleven years the service has been in operation. During these eleven years they have increased in the aggregate from \$40,000, in 1897, to \$34,985,000, in 1907. It is stated in the last annual report of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General that on June 30, 1907, there were 37,728 rural delivery routes in operation, the average, or standard, route being 24 miles. The carriers on the 37,728 routes traveled daily over 901,068 miles of the roads of the country, which is nearly half of the total mileage of the public roads of the United States. Every road over which these mails go is a United States post-road, and, under the Constitution, Congress has authority, and in equity and justice should contribute to their improvement and maintenance. While the extension of this service has been marvelous, it has yet encountered no serious obstacle. It has been confined to communities blessed with good roads. Such communities, however, have been very largely supplied, and the future extension of the service must needs be mostly to communities not having good roads. The Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, in his annual report for June 30, 1907, to which I have already referred, has this to say with reference to the bearing of good roads on rural delivery:

The maintenance of good roads not only insures an early and more expeditious delivery to the patrons residing on that portion of the route last to be served, and from whom most complaints come, but lessens the liability of irregular or suspended service on any part thereof.

It was estimated that the carrier who travels a 24-mile route daily, over bad roads, could, with much more ease, travel from 10 to 15 miles additional over good roads. But suppose we take a more restricted estimate and say that the average carrier could travel 6 miles more if we had good roads. This would increase the average or standard route to 30 miles, and would eliminate every fifth carrier now employed, and would also abolish all the crossroads post-offices, both of which would be a direct saving to the Government. By increasing the average or standard route to 30 miles, and eliminating every fifth carrier, we would reduce the force of carriers by 7,516, which at their salary of \$900 per year, would be a direct annual saving of \$6,764,400, to say nothing of the abolition of the numerous star routes and local post-offices, thereby saving to the Government many more millions. It is necessary for the continued growth of this service that something be done toward improving our roads. We can not permit it to be checkmated in its growth. No service rendered by the Government is dearer to the hearts of the whole American people than the free-delivery mail service in our cities and in the rural districts. Our people want this service continued and extended. We want to see rural delivery reach its highest degree of efficiency, so as to add to the charms of our country life. We want it so improved and extended that it will reach out into the remotest corners of our country.

The Government sends its mails over 925,248 miles of dirt roads every day in the week. The rural-delivery service would extend over 2,000,000 miles if the roads were improved. As pointed out in the recent report of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, its efficiency and perfection depends upon the system of roads over which the carrier is required to go. No class of men in the Government service performs more arduous duties and are more poorly paid. They are required to drive their team and wagon over miserably poor, muddy, and oftentimes almost impassable roads, through all kinds of inclement weather; they are required to furnish their own team and equipment and to make an average of 24 miles daily,

for which they are paid only \$900 a year. An investigation made by the Post-Office Department, about eighteen months ago, shows a moderate estimate of the original cost of horses and vehicles to be about \$275, and that an average cost of maintaining an outfit was about \$250, making the average annual cost of a carrier's outfit from \$300 to \$350. They carry with them a traveling fourth-class post-office, so to speak; they sell stamps, register letters and packages, receive money orders, and, in a measure, perform all the duties of a postmaster. I believe when we come to increase the salaries of Government employees, these should be among the first to receive our consideration. Why should they not be as well paid as the city carrier, who goes over paved streets, and is not required to supply any team or vehicle. I have introduced an amendment to the pending Post-Office bill, increasing their salary to \$1,000 per year, with thirty days' leave of absence, which I think should pass.

Mr. President, the Government has been generous in its donations to railroads in and through many States. There have been patented to the railroads 44,464,719 acres of public lands. Grants to railroads of a much larger number of acres have been forfeited. The Government has in this way aided in the construction of 14,930 miles of railroads, and the bonds of railroads, amounting to \$64,623,512, have been guaranteed, both principal and interest.

The Government has from time to time donated for wagon roads 2,014,084 acres of public lands; for canals, 4,500,724 acres, and for river improvement 1,980,593 acres; in all, 53,055,121 acres. The Government has, in cooperation with the States on the lower Mississippi River, appropriated \$16,500,000 to aid in the construction of levees and to prevent overflows and the destruction of life and property. No well-informed person would say that the building of levees on the Mississippi River is to improve navigation.

I do not want any Senator to suppose for one moment that I do not heartily approve all these appropriations. They have my full sanction. I believe they were wise and prompted by the most enlightened and constructive statesmanship.

These benefits, to a degree, have been local in their application. What I am insisting upon is a continuation of this wise and beneficial legislation in such a way as to extend its benefits to all the people in every section of our country.

Mr. President, upon the rural population has fallen the entire cost and responsibility of constructing and maintaining our public roads. It is only to a limited extent, and locally, that there has been legislation which, at the present day, in any way shifts this burden, and it still rests upon the people of the rural districts. This is inequitable, undemocratic, and in direct violation of the express principles upon which we boast our Government was founded.

No country has good roads, except where the general government has shared in the cost and responsibility of creating and maintaining them. All the countries of Europe which have improved roads have a national system whereby the national government shares in the cost and assists in the supervision of building and maintaining them.

Our present system of road administration is largely modeled after that abandoned by other progressive nations more than a century ago. In England road administration began, like our present system, with the smallest unit of government, which originated by an act of Parliament in 1555 and provided for the election of a road surveyor for each parish and for the working of the roads by compulsory labor. The parish was found to be too small as an administrative unit. A history of highways, appearing in the *Edinburgh Review*, January-April, 1864, contains this statement:

From the days of Elizabeth the inconveniences resulting from the maintenance of highways by single parishes have been constantly apparent, and accordingly successive governments, without distinction of politics, made the attempt to combine parishes into highway districts and to transfer the superintendence of their roads to boards employing the services of professional engineers.

The decided trend of road administration in England has continued away from localization. Subject to the formation of road districts, it was provided that one-half of the expense of maintaining the roads should be borne by the county, and finally, in 1882, Parliament provided that one-half of the expense of the county authorities should be refunded by a Parliamentary grant. This is also true in its essentials of the development of road administration in the other nations of Europe, but with us we have continued in vogue a system of penurious localization.

We can not escape responsibility for our miserable highways by contending that our Government is young and that we have not been a nation long enough to make the comparison with the nations of the Old World possible, because road building did not begin in France until the great Napoleon inaugurated the

system of national highways, which is to-day giving France the most superb roads in all the world. England struggled with roads almost impassable until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the teaching of Macadam, Tresauguet, and Telford began to be effective, and we may say that the present road system of England is attributable to the direct aid granted by Parliament. The advocates of national aid can have no stronger testimony in support of this policy than the following statement made by Commercial Agent Loomis, of St. Etienne, in 1891:

The roads of France are now practically all built, and they are substantial monuments to Napoleonic foresight and shrewdness. The work of the engineers in the department of public works in France to-day is not to build new roads, except in rare instances, but to keep those already constructed in a state of high efficiency. There have been no important new roads opened in France for a dozen years, and the country is so traversed with excellent roadways that no more lines of communication are likely to be exploited save in the case of military necessity. The wagon roads of France, always passable and reaching all centers of population, no matter how small, are the chief competitors of the railways, as means of communication by water are not numerous.

The road system of France has been of far greater value to the country as a means of raising the value of lands and of putting the small peasant proprietors in easy communication with their markets than have the railways. It is the opinion of well-informed Frenchmen who have made a practical study of economic problems that the superb roads of France have been one of the most steady and potent contributions to the material development and marvelous financial elasticity of the country. The far-reaching and splendidly maintained road system has distinctly favored the success of the small landed proprietors, and in their prosperity and the ensuing distribution of wealth lies the key to the secret of the wonderful financial vitality and solid prosperity of the French nation.

Our national wealth for 1907 was placed at \$116,000,000,000, while that of France was placed at \$42,000,000,000; yet we have improved only 150,000 miles of our public roads, while France has improved 340,554 miles.

Is this condition of our public roads an enviable reputation for this great country? After laying claim to superiority over all other nations along almost all other lines of development should we be content to drop to the bottom of the list in road improvement? Can we, at the peril of our commercial interests, afford it? Can we, at the sacrifice of the general well-being and comfort of the great body of our rural population, tolerate it?

Some of the opponents of this proposition would lead us to believe that the macadamizing of all the 2,151,000 miles of roads in the United States would bankrupt the Government. It would be just as absurd to macadamize all the roads in the United States as it would be to build a railroad or dig a canal through every man's farm. It is well known among highway engineers that a horse can, for a short time, exert about four times his average tractive force without injury. By reason of this fact a team of horses can draw for two or three miles as much on a common earth road as they can draw all day on good macadam, gravel, or sand-clay roads.

It should be apparent to any rational being that this two million miles of public road would be classified according to the traffic and the requirements in each section of country, and only the main arteries of travel would require so expensive a form of construction as broken stone macadam. It would be entirely feasible and proper to improve many thousand miles with gravel, many more thousand miles by a mixture of sand and clay, and probably more than one-half of this great total would be adequate if maintained as first-class earth roads. So that it is absurd to figure on the cost of improving our public roads at \$5,000 per mile for the entire mileage, or at \$4,000, or even at \$2,000.

The burden of inadequate transportation facilities falls not alone upon the farmer, but upon the consumer. If it costs 25 cents per ton per mile to haul the products of the farm to the railroad station, the consumer must pay this additional cost without increasing the farmer's profits one penny, and the farmer must pay an increased price for the finished product, which he obtains from the cities, because the same facts hold good, both going and coming. Some years ago corn was burned as fuel in the Mississippi Valley, because it would not bear the cost of transportation, since the margin was insufficient. The railroads lost the freight and the markets the product.

It may be argued that if the advantages to follow road improvement are so great, the States should take action and levy sufficient taxes to improve them. Some of our States have already passed road laws, providing for a road-tax levy on their taxable property. Such laws, however, are necessarily confined to the wealthier States, whose taxable property is sufficient to raise the large sum from a small levy. All of our States are not able to levy such a tax. For instance, a tax of 1 mill, levied by the State of Pennsylvania, would raise more money than a tax of 100 mills levied by the State of Nevada. So it is not from a lack of interest in good roads, nor from a want of progressiveness, that all of our States have not passed highway

laws, but it is because the taxable property of most States is so small that to raise a sufficient amount of money for practical results would require an exorbitant rate of taxation.

Furthermore, to undertake by State taxation to raise all the money necessary to build and improve our roads will continue the burden upon those upon whom it has so long rested. The State revenues are raised by direct taxation, and the levy is upon visible property. The farmer's property is all visible, and, therefore, never escapes taxation; while a large per cent of the property of the people of the cities is represented by stocks and bonds, is easily removable from place to place, or concealed, and is rarely ever subjected to taxation. The farmers have thus always been forced to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of taxation, which is an injustice which they should be relieved against.

Mr. President, of all the civilized countries on earth, this country has the poorest roads. In all else that is progressive it stands first. In material wealth, in varied resources, in the products of agriculture, in the making of iron and steel, in the number of miles of railroad, in the wealth and opulence of its cities, we stand first, and yet the farmers, who largely contribute to this wealth and greatness, have had less done for them than any other class of our people. Good roads are avenues of progress, the best proof of intelligence; they aid the social and religious advancement of the people; they increase the value of products; they save time, labor, and money; they are the initial sources of commerce, which swell in great streams and flow everywhere, distributing the products of our fields, forests, and factories. The highways are the common property of the country, their benefits are shared by all, and they are needed by all; they benefit all, and all should contribute to them. What fair-minded man will say that the people who live on the public roads should be required to build and keep them in repair for the use of the general public? They could not if they were willing. The burden is more than they could bear. No Government on earth has ever enjoyed good roads where compulsory labor is relied on to build and maintain them.

The effects of good roads reach everybody. Both city and country share in their benefits. In justice and equity, therefore, everybody should contribute to the cost of their construction and maintenance, but an equal distribution of this cost can not be secured under State laws and methods of taxation. Our national revenues are raised largely from duties, paid on consumption, and are thus more equally distributed among the people. Hence, an appropriation of money from the Federal Treasury to build and improve our roads would force every consumer to bear a proportion of the cost. It is not asked that the Government bear the whole cost, but only a part of it; and this is the only method whereby we may hope to secure a national system of improved roads, with an equitable distribution of their cost among those sharing in their benefits and blessings.

What are the savings to be effected by good roads? Investigations, conducted by the United States Office of Public Roads and by various State commissions have established that the average cost of hauling over wagon roads in this country is 25 cents per ton per mile and that the average haul is over 8 miles. The cost of hauling in Europe has, in many cases, been reduced to as low as 7 cents per ton per mile, and it has been established that good roads will reduce the cost to the farmers to as low as 10 cents per mile in this country. This means a reduction by half of the annual cost of transportation to the farmers. It is only necessary to consider the fact that the immense tonnage of farm products is hauled over the common roads to the railroad stations to realize what a tremendous saving is possible when we reduce the cost of transportation even 12½ cents per ton per mile. The importance of this saving is all the more evident when we compare the cost of hauling on wagon roads with the cost of rail and water transportation.

In 1906, the average freight rate by rail was a little over seven one-thousandths of a cent per ton per mile. For the same year, the mean ocean freight rate on wheat, corn, and rye from New York to Liverpool, a distance of 3,100 miles, was a little more than \$1 per ton, or three ten-thousandths of a cent per ton per mile. Thus we see that railroad and water transportation rates have been continually reduced, until they have reached a marvelously low figure, while the cost of transportation over our common roads has remained practically unchanged for more than a generation, and will continue so until we can inaugurate some national system of improving our roads.

This duty devolves upon our National Government. It has abundant surplus in the Treasury to accomplish this purpose, and how better could this surplus be used? It has money, and can afford it; while the States and the people have not the money, and can not afford it. Why allow our national revenues

to lie idle in the banks, when they might be stimulating our internal improvement, and giving employment to thousands of the unemployed?

Mr. President, the amendment I have offered does not increase the amount of the appropriation made in the post-office bill. It merely proposes to divert from the sum appropriated for the rural delivery service the small amount of \$500,000, to be used as provided in the amendment. I do not undertake to lay down any rule, or prescribe any of the details by which the money may be expended. It is proposed to leave that to the co-operation of the post-office and agricultural authorities. They were selected in order to have the benefit of the experiments that have been made by the good-roads division of the Agricultural Department, and the experience and knowledge of the rural-delivery division in the Post-Office Department. The methods and means of putting into operation the rural-delivery service was left to the Postmaster-General, and so were the means of putting into effect and operation the irrigation system left to the Interior Department.

This appropriation seeks to ascertain a practical demonstration of the effect of road improvement in the rural-delivery service in cooperation with the States and counties, and the benefits and advantages to the service by reason of the improvement. I do not believe any effort as to details in the execution of this plan could be prescribed by law.

A number of States, under their constitutions, are not permitted to make appropriations for road construction and maintenance. The State of Alabama is in this situation; but the last legislature, realizing the great importance of public roads, and the inadequacy of present methods to improve and maintain them, submitted an amendment to the constitution, authorizing appropriations for road construction, which will doubtless be adopted by the people at the polls in November. In that event, Alabama will at once be able to contribute its share, in cooperation with the National Government, along the lines of the amendment I have submitted to the pending post-office bill, in the improvement of the roads in every county in that State. The State of Kentucky will vote this year on a similar amendment to their constitution, and perhaps there are other States, where the constitution does not permit the use of public funds for internal improvement.

No government owes more to its people than does ours. No people in the world are more loyal, more patriotic, or more devoted to their government than our people. In time of war they have successfully defended it against every foe, and in time of peace their efforts at industrial advancement and intellectual attainment have reared a commercial empire which excels all competitors, and a civilization which is unsurpassed.

These virtues merit substantial recognition from the Government. Our people should receive governmental assistance in their struggles, as far as the legitimate functions of government will permit. No more urgent and acceptable aid can be extended than a liberal appropriation for improving our roads. This would prove a benefit to our cities and a blessing to our rural districts. Many modern improvements have contributed to the amelioration of the hardships of farm life, but much remains yet to be done. Good roads will add more than any other one thing. Give our farmers good roads, and with the telephone and rural delivery bringing him in easy contact with the outside world, and with his daily intercourse with nature, he will prove the most prosperous and contented and patriotic citizen on the American continent.

Mr. President, I am making a plea for the farmers, not because they are better than any other class of our people, but because they are as good. They do not ask for special favors, but demand a square deal and fair treatment.

The distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. Hale], chairman of the Naval Committee and an active and influential member of the Appropriations Committee, declared a few days ago in this Chamber that 70 per cent of the appropriations made at this session of Congress were in preparation for war or reparation of past wars. A most startling statement when we consider that the United States is at peace with all the world and no strained relations exist between this and any nation on the globe.

I ask the Senate to pause long enough to consider the importance of agriculture and its wealth-producing power, and compare the appropriations made by this Congress, in aid of agriculture, with those made in preparation for, and reparation of, war. The appropriations for war amount to the round sum of \$400,000,000, while for agriculture we grudgingly appropriate about \$10,000,000. One is designed to kill and maim, make widows and orphans, and fill the land with sorrow and mourning; the other is to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, bring joy and

happiness to our people, the building of peaceful homes, and the encouragement of patriotism and love of country.

The toiling millions engaged in agriculture last year produced more than \$7,000,000,000 worth of products; they fed and clothed 90,000,000 people at home, and shipped abroad \$1,000,000,000 worth of the products of their labor, or 56½ per cent of the total exports of the country. These farmers, for whose benefit and encouragement Congress will this year appropriate only \$10,000,000, as against \$400,000,000 for purposes I have just mentioned, are not receiving the consideration they deserve.

The internal commerce of the country last year was about \$20,000,000,000, nearly all of which must first and last be hauled over the dirt roads at an average cost of 25 cents per ton per mile, or more than thirty times the cost of transportation by rail, the average rail haul being less than 7 mills per ton per mile.

In order to show the immense burden imposed by the dirt roads I have selected five of the leading staple farm products to prove my contention—wheat, corn, cotton, hay, and tobacco.

CORN CROP, 1905-6.

Total tonnage marketed.....	19,083,000
Average weight of load..... pounds.....	2,698
Total number of loads hauled.....	14,156,528
Average length of haul..... miles.....	7.4
Average cost of hauling per ton per mile..... cents.....	.19
Total cost of marketing crop by wagon.....	\$26,830,698
Average cost over hard roads per ton per mile..... cents.....	.10
Saving due to hard roads.....	\$12,709,278

The railroads charge for hauling 100 pounds of corn from St. Louis to New Orleans, a distance of 647 miles, 16 cents. To haul 100 pounds of corn over the Missouri dirt roads a distance of 8.8 miles costs the farmer 10 cents.

WHEAT CROP, 1905-6.

Total tonnage marketed.....	12,123,000
Average weight of load..... pounds.....	3,323
Total number of loads hauled.....	7,206,418
Average length of haul..... miles.....	9.4
Average cost of hauling per ton per mile..... cents.....	.19
Total cost of marketing crop by wagon.....	\$21,651,678
Average cost over hard roads per ton per mile..... cents.....	.10
Saving due to hard roads.....	\$10,256,058

The railroad charge for 100 pounds of wheat from Chicago to Buffalo, a distance of 525 miles, is 12 cents. To haul 100 pounds of wheat a distance of 5.7 miles over the dirt roads of Illinois costs the farmer 7 cents.

COTTON CROP, 1905-6.

Total tonnage marketed.....	2,530,000
Average weight of load..... pounds.....	1,702
Total number of loads hauled.....	2,973,560
Average length of haul..... miles.....	11.8
Average cost of hauling per ton per mile..... cents.....	.27
Total cost of marketing crop by wagon.....	\$8,062,173
Average cost over hard roads per ton per mile..... cents.....	.10
Saving due to hard roads.....	\$5,076,183

To send a bale of cotton by rail from Birmingham, Ala., to Norfolk, Va., a distance of 763 miles, costs \$2.55. To haul a bale of cotton a distance of 11 miles, over the dirt roads of Mississippi, costs 95 cents. If the railroad haul cost as much per mile as the dirt road, the cost of sending a bale of cotton from Birmingham to Norfolk would amount to \$88.32, or about twice its value at the average price. It costs 18 cents per hundred pounds to haul cotton seed a distance of 13 miles, on a dirt road in Alabama, or one-third of its market value.

The rail haul for tobacco from Durham, N. C., to Richmond, Va., a distance of 161 miles, is 25 cents per hundred pounds. It costs 20 cents to haul a hundred pounds of tobacco over the dirt roads of Virginia for a distance of 11½ miles.

The average farm price of hay, December 1, 1905, was \$8.52, and the value of an average load in the United States at that time was \$11.87. The cost of hauling the load to market was \$2.33, or one-fifth of its value.

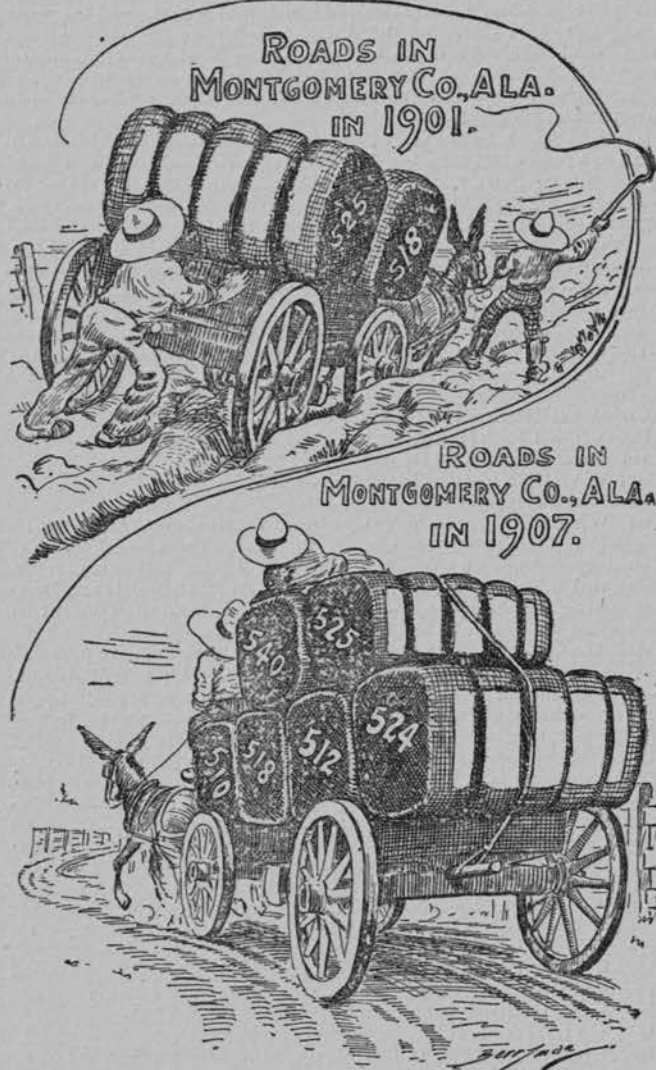
The gross earnings of the railroads in 1906 were \$2,082,482,406 and the operating expenses were \$1,532,163,153. The ratio of operating expenses to earnings was 62½ per cent. Against these earnings was charged for interest, rents, betterments, taxes, and miscellaneous items the sum of \$590,386,554 and for dividends \$229,406,598, leaving a surplus of \$100,000,000. These large sums collected from the public were returned to the people for labor and material, and the money is now in the channels of trade and commerce. It is estimated that the annual cost of hauling over the dirt roads exceeds the total gross income of the railroads. What has become of this enormous sum? It has not gone for material or labor and has paid no dividends. It is merely a tax collected by the roads, none of which can ever be returned to those who paid it. It is a contribution to the miserable roads over which the commerce of the country is carried.

The cotton crop in Alabama last year was 1,200,000 bales, and the cost of delivering it to market was 95 cents per bale, or a total cost of \$1,140,000. This was \$540,000 more than the

cost would have been over hard roads. Bad roads in Alabama, therefore, wrung from the pockets of the farmers in that State in one year on one article alone \$540,000, every cent of which was an absolute loss. It is worse than loss, for they paid it in time and wear and tear of their wagons and teams.

Mr. President, I ask permission of the Senate to insert in the RECORD an illustration, showing the benefit of good roads in Montgomery County, Ala.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BACON in the chair). Without objection, permission is granted.



Mr. BANKHEAD. If I have established my contention that the Constitution does not prohibit, but expressly authorizes, Congress to appropriate money in aid of road construction; if I have shown that there is no invasion of the rights of the States, and that the scarecrow of paternalism does not anywhere show its face, the only questions remaining to be settled are: Is it good governmental policy? It is a good investment, and will it yield a return to the people sufficient to justify the outlay? Will it materially reduce the cost of transporting the vast internal commerce of the country? Will it increase the profit of the producer, and also benefit the consumer? If the expenditure will result in a saving directly to this large number of our citizens, and, indirectly, to all our people, and they are willing for the Government to make the expenditure, why not now begin this long delayed, but beneficial legislation?

It is not the rural population alone that would be benefited; if so, it would be in the interest of a class, and this I could not approve. Those in the city are equally interested, and will enjoy equal benefits and results. The merchant exchanges his goods and wares for farm products, either by barter and purchase or sale. If the farmer can deliver his products at a reduced cost to himself, his profits are larger, he is enabled to buy more goods, and carries home with him more of the luxuries and necessities of life, and adds to the happiness and contentment of the family.

Mr. President, the educational side of the question is sufficient to control my action, if no other interests were involved. A system of efficient public schools can never be maintained until the roads in the rural districts are improved, until the disgraceful cabin, now used as a schoolhouse, gives place to a more imposing structure, located in centers of population, over which waves the flag of our country, inspiring confidence and patriotism. A wide-awake, progressive school in every township, in a comfortable building, and provided with the necessary libraries, apparatus, and equipment, would do more than any other one thing to inspire confidence and respect in the hearts of our young American manhood and womanhood, and it then could be said of America, as was once said of Rome, "All roads lead to the schoolhouse." This Republic must depend for its future greatness upon an intelligent and home-loving people. The religious and social life of our people is largely influenced by the conditions where they reside.

Good roads are the most potential and successful immigrating agents in this country. The most desirable farmers and the best wives and helpmeets are the young men and the young women raised on the farms. Under existing conditions, they are continually drifting to the towns and cities. They are progressive and social in their nature, and will not remain on the farm unless they can have those benefits and pleasures that association and companionship afford. The loneliness of the country home, away from neighbors and friends, where the schools and the churches are poorly maintained, where the farmer and his wife and children are denied the advantages of educational and religious training, are the principal causes for the removal of large numbers of our people from the country to the towns and cities. The farmer is seeking better advantages for his family, and unless the country can be made to supply, in some measure, these benefits, there will continue to be a congestion of population in the cities.

We send a commission to Europe to investigate the question of immigration, and many States maintain immigration bureaus in order to secure desirable farm and industrial labor. The question is often asked by the intelligent and thrifty immigrant, Have you good roads? The most desirable immigrant comes from a country where he is accustomed to good roads, and if he is located where the roads are almost impassable for a great part of the year, he will remain no longer than to make and harvest the first crop.

One of the problems in connection with the transportation system of the country, and one which has in many ways been the subject of discussion, is the congestion of traffic and the inability of the railroads, during certain periods of the year, to move promptly the products of the farm, factory, and mine. Great inconvenience, and oftentimes enormous losses, are sustained both by the producer and the consumer because of the inability of the railroads to deliver freight to its destination at times when it was most needed and commands the best prices. The railroads have not been able to expand and enlarge their carrying facilities in proportion to the increase in production. At certain periods they do not have sufficient locomotives and cars to meet the demands of commerce, while at other periods thousands of cars and locomotives, representing an investment of millions of dollars, stand idle. During the harvest season, and before the rain, snow and freezes come which render the roads in many sections of the country impassable and useless; the farmer is compelled to rush his products to market, which results in an overflow, depreciates prices, and severely taxes the capacity of the railroads.

It has been urged as a probable means of relief the improvement of the waterways of the country, which would, in a large measure, assist the railroads in moving articles ready for transportation, in addition to many other benefits, but it would not avoid the congestion. It would only assist in relieving it. An improved road system, permeating the country districts, would remove the principal cause, would enable the farmer and small producer to place his products on the market at such times when the price is commensurate with their value, or when most convenient to him, and his time could not be better employed. The American farmer is more prosperous to-day than at any time in his history, and in a better position to dictate the price at which he will sell the products of his labor by withholding it from the markets. If the internal commerce of the country could be delivered to the railroad stations at any time during the year, and as the market required, the railroads could properly handle the entire freight of the country. If farm products must be delivered within a limited time, owing to the condition of the roads, the market is congested, the railroads are overtaxed, prices fall, the producer's profit is greatly reduced, and the consumer is greatly inconvenienced.

The result of road improvement, wherever tried, has been largely to increase the value of farm land, for the homeseeker

prefers to locate where improved roads provide their many advantages. Indeed, I have been assured that lands have even doubled and quadrupled in value along and adjacent to improved dirt roads.

We hear a great deal being said about the destruction of our timber supply. Mr. President, I do not hesitate to say that, in my opinion, there is sufficient timber, composed of small tracts, belonging to farmers and other landowners, in this country to-day, and which is now considered worthless, because of its distance from the railroad, that could be placed on the market were the roads sufficiently improved, that would supply the timber demand in the United States for seventy-five years, the value of which alone would improve the dirt roads of this country.

Mr. President, in closing, I wish to touch upon a question which I consider of vital importance. It is a question not so much of dollars and cents, not of constitutionality, but one which affects our morality, our character as individuals and as a nation, and the stability of our free institutions. Year after year the human tide flows from the country to the city, and the day may come when the words of the poet may apply to this Republic:

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

Do not let us have great mobs of the unemployed, combining the scum of Europe with the misled boys from our American farms, so long as there are millions of acres of land waiting to be tilled, and homes waiting to be built. Good roads will make farm life attractive; they will bring the isolated dweller closer to his neighbor, and I feel confident they will check the movement of our rural population to the great cities.

WATERWAY FROM BOSTON TO WILMINGTON, N. C.

Mr. KEAN. Mr. President, I objected this morning to the consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 75) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to make a survey and examination for a continuous waterway from Boston, Mass., by various routes to Wilmington, N. C. I withdraw my objection to it. The Senator from North Carolina is very anxious to have it passed. It will take but a moment. The joint resolution has been read.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution. It authorizes the Secretary of War to cause a survey and examination to be made for a continuous waterway from Boston, Mass., through Cape Cod, thence by Long Island Sound and the approaches to New York City to Raritan Bay, thence across the State of New Jersey to the Delaware River, thence through the States of Delaware and Maryland to the Chesapeake Bay, thence through the State of Virginia, thence through the State of North Carolina to Wilmington, N. C.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. HALE. The naval appropriation bill is now before the Senate?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is before the Senate.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 20471) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, and for other purposes.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I wish to say, before the amendment of the Senator from Washington [Mr. PILES] is taken up, that I have some figures which were prepared at the suggestion of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. MONEY] that they should be compiled for the use of the Senate. I will now submit them, before the debate opens upon the battle ships. I intended to put them in last night, but the Senate was very weary and everybody wanted to adjourn. It is a complete list of all the battle ships and great cruisers of our Navy, including the two ships authorized in this bill.

Mr. MCCREARY. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. HALE. I hope the Senator will not interrupt me until I get through with this statement.

Mr. MCCREARY. I desire to ask only one question.

Mr. HALE. Certainly. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. MCCREARY. I desire to ask if the statement which the Senator proposes to present is fuller than the one that was presented and inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in response to the suggestion of the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. HALE. It is of the same kind, but as to these particular ships, it is a more particular statement. I shall ask that the list be incorporated in the RECORD. It shows a list of battle ships, thirty-one in all, and fifteen great cruisers, many of them as large as the battle ships, with their tonnage and their armament.

I call the attention especially of the Senator who has moved the amendment for the four battle ships to this statement. It shows a navy so large that you may divide it in two, and a larger navy will be left on the Pacific coast than the entire fleet that is now making its way up that coast, and another great fleet very considerably larger, with all of the smaller ships connected with it, more than thirty in all, making an immense home squadron, if I may use that phrase, as applied to the Atlantic fleet rather than the Pacific, although they are both actually home squadrons.

It will leave on the Atlantic coast as our fleet facing toward Europe a much larger fleet than that which is now in Pacific waters, and it will leave in Pacific waters for the protection of the Pacific coast, which I acknowledge we ought to protect, another fleet larger than the entire fleet that is now upon that coast.

I was very glad on getting the complete figures to be able to show, what I do not think is appreciated, the magnitude of the Navy as it is, including the ships that are now being built and those included in this bill. I do not think, perhaps, Senators or the country, or the Senators from the Pacific coast, who naturally desire protection and are entitled to it, have appreciated this fact.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. WARREN. Just for a question.

Mr. HALE. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. I do not know that I understood the Senator very well. Did he say that we could have a fleet on the Pacific coast larger than the one that is now on the way around the world and is on the Pacific, and another in addition larger than that on the Pacific coast for the Atlantic coast, and still a third one left of the same size?

Mr. HALE. No; we would have the two great fleets, a fleet on the Pacific larger than the one that is going around the world, and a fleet left on the Atlantic, which, I suppose, will be perhaps always our largest fleet, as England's channel fleet is her largest, very considerably larger than that.

I call the attention of my friends from the Pacific coast to this consideration. We are not in the position that has been assumed by some advocates of this largest programme. We are not called upon to build another great fleet now in order to have protection either in the Pacific or on this side. I have had some experience and observation; I have reported all the naval bills for years; and yet I did not realize this most significant and to me convincing fact, and this answer to the repeated cry we have now to build up another entire fleet for protection at home.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. HALE. Certainly.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. In estimating the size of the Atlantic fleet does the Senator include the vessels known as monitors?

Mr. HALE. I have not paid any attention to them; they are among the additional ones; but we would have fifteen big battle ships on the Pacific, the same number that are now in the fleet; we would have sixteen big battle ships in the Atlantic; and we would have eight enormous cruisers as large as battle ships in the Pacific, and nine more on the Atlantic; and in addition to all that we would have all of the monitors, all of the protected cruisers, and all of the gunboats, aggregating a tonnage of over 200,000.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to his colleague?

Mr. HALE. I do; with pleasure.

Mr. FRYE. When the Senator speaks of these fleets, does he refer to the fleets after the vessels which have been already ordered are built, and after the two which are contained in this bill are constructed?

Mr. HALE. I do, of course, because whatever question may arise about how many we shall authorize now, we can not get them until after they are built, and we are in a condition about the new big ships, as the designs are already made, that we can go right to work upon them. Any calculation, of course, is based upon ships that we build in the future.

In addition to this we can every year have a programme of two more of these immense battle ships, that cost about \$11,000,000. That is a matter of administration, as it is everywhere. You may put both of them into the Pacific if needed, or one into the Pacific and one into our fleet here.

I have thought it proper and desirable to present these figures as showing this phase of the case, it being to me a perfect answer to the cry that we are left without protection and have at once to build up an enormous new Navy for our protection at home.

I do not think there is any squadron of any nation aside from her home squadron in her home ports that is as large as the squadron we will then have, or the fleet, whatever you may call it, in the Pacific. So the Senators from that region, who are naturally desirous of protecting their own coasts, need have no apprehension that if the programme sent to us from the House is carried out they will be left in the lurch.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. BACON. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator unless he has completed his statement.

Mr. HALE. I am practically through, and I can not go on any longer, anyway.

Mr. BACON. The Senator used the expression "the fleet that is going around the world." Has the Senator definite information of the fact that it is to go around the world?

Mr. HALE. I have on my desk, I think, here or possibly it may be at my house, a communication from the Navy Department—it discloses no secret—in which certain legislation is recommended as being suitable and essential to maintain our rank and dignity in the view that the fleet is to visit Asiatic ports, perhaps African ports, Mediterranean ports, and European ports. So I may say to the Senator, while I do not know it has been formally stated that the fleet is to circuit the globe, I have no doubt in my mind that that is a part of the plan.

I have not known from the beginning what the programme was, because I do not know that any member of the Naval Committee of either House was consulted upon it or any Senator or Member. I do not complain of it; but I can say that at present I have no authoritative information, and I have been in no consultation as to what shall be done with the fleet. But I have no doubt it is going around the world.

Mr. BACON. Does the Senator understand that to apply to the entire fleet now in the Pacific?

Mr. HALE. I have no doubt it comprehends most of the fleet.

Mr. BACON. What does the Senator understand is the object of this globe-circling cruise?

Mr. HALE. Now, Mr. President, if the Senator, apparently listening to me—

Mr. BACON. I always listen to the Senator.

Mr. HALE (continuing). Had heard what I said, it was that I had had no consultation and I had not been in anyway informed—I am very glad I was not—about what is the purpose of this cruise or where the fleet is going or why it is going. I know nothing whatever about it. I have only the information that all Senators have as they see in the newspapers what is going on.

Mr. BACON. With the permission of the Senator, I will ask him, then, another question. The Senator occupies a very responsible position in this body in its relations to the naval branch of the service, and I will say what I am sure will be recognized by every Senator, as well as by the country at large, that no Senator could perform those duties more efficiently and satisfactorily than he does. The Senator in that position must necessarily give careful thought to all matters of importance which relate to the naval service. I am not charged with that duty, and therefore I am not informed, and I look to the Senator for information.

I desire to know of the Senator, occupying that position and considering these matters as carefully as he doubtless does, whether, in his opinion, there is any proper authority for ordering, without the approval of Congress, the fleet around the world and away from the duties to which it is properly assigned.

Mr. HALE. The Senator knows the provisions of the Constitution. The President is the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy. Another clause, not always uppermost in all minds, as the Senator knows, states that Congress shall "provide and maintain a Navy," and another clause declares that Congress shall "make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces."

I should not have seen, I think, all the advantages of the cruise that evidently dwelt in the mind of the Secretary and the President. But I have never taken the ground that sending the fleet around the world was an usurpation. As I said before, I can see some benefits from it in the way of the discipline of the fleet, and the demonstration of the seagoing capacities of the ships and of their being good and complete ships, and it will affect undoubtedly the knowledge and exercise of seamanship on the part of officers and men, and will accomplish some great good in that regard.

But the other questions that arise as to what it will bring about in the way of possible accident and calamity to the fleet, or possible complication with foreign powers, is a thing in the realm not of demonstration but of conjecture. Nobody can tell that. I think the fleet is going around the world, and I shall bid it Godspeed, hoping that we will get out of it without any complication. I will say here the great reason why I do not fear danger is that I do not think any power that is in the track or the observation of the circuit of the fleet under any circumstances will be found hostile to us or that there is the remotest probability or possibility of any war with any nation where the fleet is going. So I am able to possess my soul with some peace about the mission of the fleet and free my thought by day and my dreams by night of any apprehension in that regard. But it is based upon the fact that we are in no danger of war.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. HALE. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to ask the Senator as to the expense. How is the expense borne? From what fund is it taken?

Mr. HALE. It is borne largely in deficiency bills, and there will be additional deficiency bills another year undoubtedly. In fact, I think we were called upon to pass a heavy deficiency bill covering the fleet and its visitation in the early part of the session. I was informed the other day by the head of a bureau in the Navy Department that before Congress adjourned he would come in and ask for additional deficiencies; that we had not given them enough. Next year when they come in we will appropriate for the final deficiency. There is no fund.

As Senators know, the fleet's dispatch, its starting, was not in any way left until Congress had assembled and the expression of Congress required as to appropriations for it. It had all been settled and the fleet was off and out of the way substantially, if not actually started, when Congress met, so that Congress had no opportunity to make a special appropriation until the deficiency bill came up, when we made a large appropriation.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to ask the Senator if he can make any estimate as to what the additional cost of this trip will be to the American people?

Mr. HALE. I can make no more estimate about it than I could make an estimate as to what shall be the course of the circuit of a bird in the sky. I do not know.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. HALE. I yield.

Mr. BACON. Recurring to the reply of the Senator from Maine to my inquiry as to the authority for sending the fleet around the world, I will say that I had in view both the provisions of the Constitution which he has cited, one of which makes the President of the United States the Commander in Chief of the Navy, the other of which retains in Congress the authority for making rules for the government and regulation of the Navy. I simply desire to say, without consuming unnecessary time, as it is a matter which ought to have some expression from some one, that in my opinion any use of the Navy outside of that which pertains to its ordinary uses, those for which the Navy is designed and the use for which it is anticipated, should have the sanction of Congress before it is done.

So far as the sending of the fleet to the Pacific coast is concerned, I can understand how that may be within the legitimate sphere of the use of the Navy. I have no criticism to make upon that, although, of course, we are none of us informed as to all of the reasons which may have existed and some of which I have no doubt did exist and still exist which would justify the sending of the fleet to the Pacific coast. What I have to say has no relation to that whatever. But when it comes to sending the fleet around the world, that is another matter. Whenever an enterprise of that magnitude is undertaken, so absolutely foreign to the uses which are contemplated in the

construction of a navy and in the government and regulation of a navy, I say not simply the Executive, but the great law-making power of the Government ought to be that which should give its sanction and which should authorize it.

I understand the Senator to say that he is reconciled by the fact that he has no apprehension that the fleet is going to meet with any hostile demonstration upon its way; and of course we all of us are thoroughly confident of that. We have no apprehension of any war meeting them upon their course. But at the same time, while we have no apprehension of war, I think that so far as this globe-circling expedition is concerned, it removes the fleet farther away from the United States than anyone would have the authority to send it except the law-making power of the Government.

There are other reasons which could be mentioned. I will not take the time of the Senate, but I do say that there ought to be in some department of Congress an expression of the view that Congress does not lose control of the fleet by reason of the fact that the President of the United States is Commander in Chief of it. He is the Commander in Chief, and Congress could not deprive him of that position if it desired to do so; but the fact that he is Commander in Chief does not relieve Congress from the control of the operations of the fleet whenever a great and an unusual use is to be made of it. Whenever a use is to be made of it, in the language which was used on the floor two days ago, for any spectacular purpose, clear outside of the part of the world where the fleet properly belongs, then it should only be undertaken, in my opinion, when Congress has approved it.

Mr. RAYNER. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. RAYNER. I only desire to ask the Senator from Georgia a question, if the Senator from Maine will permit me.

Mr. HALE. Let me say, Mr. President, I rose entirely for the purpose of calling the attention of the Senate to the actual strength of our fleet—the capability of its subdivision—and I wanted to put in the statement before the Senator from Washington should go on with his remarks upon his amendment, in order that it might not be said that it was put in afterwards, but that he might see, and all the Senate might see, what navy we have and how, when subdivided, it protects his coast as well as my coast.

I, myself, do not want to debate it any more. I do not want to interfere with the debate on the battle ships, and I am in no condition physically, with trouble and menace in my throat, to continue longer on the floor. Still, I will listen to the Senator.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maine yields to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. RAYNER. I only desire to ask the Senator from Georgia a question. I have given some little consideration to the question involved here, legal and constitutional, and I should like to ask the question whether, in the absence of a law or a regulation by Congress, the President, as Commander in Chief, has unlimited power; in other words, whether it does not take a law or regulation of Congress to limit the powers of the President under the Constitution.

Mr. BACON. Undoubtedly; nobody would for a moment question that fact, and nobody will question the propriety of the President sending a vessel to any country in the world where he thought the interests of the Government, or the interests of any citizen, required the presence of a man-of-war. But that is a very different thing from the question as to the propriety of sending the fleet around the world for spectacular purposes. The question of the existence of authority to exercise a power is one thing, but the question of the proper and legitimate use of that authority is altogether another question.

Mr. RAYNER. I thought the Senator was discussing the legality of it.

Mr. BACON. Of course, nobody denies the fact that the President has, in the absence of any expression from Congress, the authority to do it. I am simply considering the question whether or not it is a proper use of that authority. In my judgment, it is not a proper use of the authority. If there was a suggestion of that kind in the Executive mind, it seems to me that Congress ought to have been appealed to for its approval before it was undertaken.

Mr. HALE. I ask pardon of the Senator from Washington, who I know desires to go on with his amendment, for having taken up so much time. It is not all to be laid at my door. I simply ask that the statement I have submitted be incorporated as a part of my remarks in the Record.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement referred to is as follows:

UNITED STATES.

Battle ships (31) built, building, and in pending bill.

Completed in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main armament.	Speed.
		Tons.		Knots.
1895.....	Indiana*	10,288	Four 13-inch; eight 8-inch; four 6-inch.	15.55
1896.....	Massachusetts*	10,288		16.21
1896.....	Oregon*	10,288		16.79
1897.....	Iowa	11,346	Four 12-inch; eight 8-inch....	17.9
1900.....	Kearsarge	11,520	Four 13-inch; four 8-inch....	16.82
1900.....	Kentucky	11,520		16.9
1900.....	Alabama	11,552	Four 13-inch; fourteen 6-inch.	17.1
1901.....	Illinois	11,552		17.45
1901.....	Wisconsin	11,552		17.17
1902.....	Maine	12,500	Four 12-inch; sixteen 6-inch..	18.18
1903.....	Missouri	12,500		18.15
1904.....	Ohio	12,500		17.82
1906.....	Rhode Island	14,948	Four 12-inch; eight 8-inch; twelve 6-inch.	19.1
1906.....	Virginia	14,948		19.1
1906.....	New Jersey	14,948		19.18
1906.....	Georgia	14,948		19.26
1907.....	Nebraska	14,948		19.6
1906.....	Connecticut	16,000	Four 12-inch; eight 8-inch; twelve 7-inch.	18.0
1906.....	Louisiana	16,000		18.82
1907.....	Minnesota	16,000		18.0
1907.....	Vermont	16,000	Four 12-inch; eight 8-inch; eight 7-inch.	18.0
1907.....	Kansas	16,000		18.0
1908.....	Idaho	13,000	Four 12-inch; eight 8-inch; twelve 7-inch.	17.0
1908.....	Mississippi	13,000		17.0
1908.....	New Hampshire..	16,000		18.0
BUILDING.				
	Michigan.....	16,000	Eight 12-inch	18.5
	South Carolina...	16,000		18.5
	Delaware.....	20,000	Ten 12-inch	
	North Dakota	20,000		
	Two included in pending bill, 20,000 each.	40,000	Ten 12-inch each	
	Grand total, 31 battle ships.	446,146		

Armored cruisers (15).

1893.....	New York	8,150	Four 8-inch; ten 5-inch.....	21.0
1895.....	Brooklyn	9,215	Eight 8-inch; twelve 5-inch..	21.91
1905.....	Pennsylvania	13,680		22.44
1905.....	Maryland	13,680	Four 8-inch; fourteen 6-inch..	22.41
1905.....	Colorado	13,680		22.24
1905.....	West Virginia	13,680		22.15
1907.....	California	13,680	Four 10-inch; sixteen 6-inch..	22.0
1907.....	South Dakota	13,680		22.0
1906.....	Tennessee	14,500		22.16
1906.....	Washington	14,500		22.27
BUILDING.				
	North Carolina...	14,500	Four 10-inch; sixteen 6-inch..	22.0
	Montana	14,500		22.0
	Grand total, 12 armored cruisers	157,445		
1905.....	Charleston a.....	9,700	Fourteen 6-inch.....	22.4
1906.....	Milwaukee a.....	9,700		22.22
1906.....	St. Louis a.....	9,700		22.13
	Grand total..	186,545		

a Officially the three ships are protected cruisers. They are actually armored cruisers, and so treated by standard foreign publications. If included in above table, they would give: Grand total, fifteen armored cruisers; 186,545 tons.

* Marked obsolescent by foreign publications.

Mr. CULBERSON. Before the Senator from Maine yields the floor, reverting to the suggestion made by the Senator from Georgia to the Senator from Maryland, I read the provision of the Constitution to the effect that Congress is authorized "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces."

The question I desire to put to the Senator from Maine is this: Under existing law and the rules and regulations for the government of the Navy, which Congress is authorized by this provision of the Constitution to make, is the President, in sending the fleet around the world, if he purposes doing so, acting within the limit of those regulations or is he exceeding them?

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I have referred in my remarks to the provision of the Constitution, with which we are all familiar. I am inclined to believe, in the absence of any rules or regulations touching this question by Congress, under the provision just cited by the Senator from Texas, that the President would have the power and authority to order the fleet, but that should Congress at any time interfere and establish rules and regulations conflicting with it, the President must yield to Congress. But Congress, so far as I know, has made no rules or regulations touching this subject, so that whatever

may be my view about the expediency of the voyage of the fleet, I do not think there has been any case of Presidential usurpation.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator will pardon me, I should like to ask him this question: If, in the appropriation which was made for the present fiscal year, there was in contemplation any appropriation for the fleet being sent around the world?

Mr. HALE. Not the least, Mr. President. When the appropriations were made up last spring and when an opportunity was presented before the committee of bringing this question up and asking for appropriations—

Mr. BACON. None was asked for.

Mr. HALE. No committee was asked to give such an appropriation.

Mr. BACON. Now, I will ask the Senator one other question: After this voyage has been undertaken, and when it is known that there must be this increased expense, has there been any effort to get an appropriation from the committee, or has there been any estimate submitted?

Mr. HALE. In advance?

Mr. BACON. Yes, sir.

Mr. HALE. The only effort that has been made, which has been responded to by Congress, was the estimate for a deficiency.

Mr. BACON. Did the deficiency specify a contemplated trip around the world?

Mr. HALE. It was mainly for coal, which was for the fleet.

Mr. CLAY. It was for coal and repairs, was it not, I will ask the Senator from Maine?

Mr. HALE. I do not remember.

Mr. CLAY. My recollection is that the sum appropriated was about four and a half million dollars, and the Navy Department gave the Committee on Appropriations estimates of how much had been spent for that purpose. My recollection is that while a large part of it was spent for coal, some of it went for repairing the ships that were on the way to the Pacific coast.

Mr. HALE. If so, it was for small incidental repairs. The main thing was coal.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy under the Constitution, has, of course, always in time of war and in time of peace directed the movements of the vessels and of fleets; that is, we have sent squadrons at all times to different parts of the world. We usually maintain squadrons in different parts of the world, and it is unquestionably within the power of the Commander in Chief to move one ship or to move a dozen, or to take any step which, as Commander in Chief, he may think is for the advantage of the service and is necessary to be performed by that service. I think there can be no question, as the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] has said, that there is no matter of usurpation here whatever. This instance has been more conspicuous simply because the fleet is larger. It was done with a specific purpose, which, as I explained the other day, seems to me is an extremely wise purpose.

I can not conceive any greater misfortune for the welfare of the Navy of the United States than to undertake to have committees of Congress pointing out what voyages the ships should take and where they should go. In the first place, Congress is not in session all the time, and if it were I can not conceive of a body more unfit for the exercise of executive functions than a great legislative body.

The Commander in Chief must be intrusted with the direction of the land and naval forces. Just as President McKinley in time of war massed the American fleet and proposed to send it and would have sent it to the coast of Spain, so this power has been exercised year in and year out by every President in time of peace. I do not care to again go over the question whether this voyage was a desirable one or not, but it seems to me that it has been of great advantage.

The idea that we can keep ships without wear and tear! Battle ships are made to be used; and if they are used, like all ships in the merchant marine, they are going to show the wear and tear and a certain amount of depreciation, and they will at times require repairs. We do not expect to build a great fleet of ships and keep them all the time tied up to the docks in New York or Boston or Norfolk. They would be perfectly worthless if they were not sent to sea, so that the crews may be exercised in the management of the ships. No better way for the development of the American fleet could have been devised than this great voyage which is being made.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, the Senator from Washington [Mr. PILES] has substantially had the floor for more than an hour, and I hope he may now be allowed to proceed.

Mr. PILES. Mr. President, it is not my purpose to make any extended remarks in behalf of four battle ships. I think that a mere statement of the facts will show the wisdom of Congress providing at the present time for the construction at as early a date as practicable of four additional battle ships.

I have not been unmindful of the character and condition of our fleet as pointed out by the list which the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] has sent to the Secretary's desk and asked to have printed in the RECORD, nor the fact that eleven out of the thirty-one battle ships which are referred to in that list are of practically an obsolete type and of less than 13,000 tons displacement, and that about six of those ships need extensive repairs before they will be brought to the standard of ships of their class. This, I think, makes it apparent to all that the time is opportune to provide the people of this country a greater defense than they now possess.

Mr. President, the President of the United States, in the special message which he sent to Congress on the 14th instant, among other things said:

As Chief Executive of the nation and as Commander in Chief of the Navy, there is imposed upon me the solemn responsibility of advising the Congress of the measures vitally necessary to secure the peace and welfare of the Republic in the event of international complications which are even remotely possible. Having in view this solemn responsibility I earnestly advise that the Congress now provide four battle ships of the most advanced type. I can not too emphatically say that this is a measure of peace and not of war. I can conceive of no circumstances under which this Republic would enter into an aggressive war; most certainly, under no circumstances would it enter into an aggressive war to extend its territory or in any other manner seek material aggrandizement. I advocate that the United States build a navy commensurate with its powers and its needs, because I feel that such a navy will be the surest guaranty and safeguard of peace.

In view of this urgent appeal to Congress, and in view of the further fact that I come from a section of the country which will be the storm center of the conflict, if we have war, I have felt it my duty to submit for the consideration of the Senate the pending amendment.

Mr. President, I know that the people of the Pacific coast are in favor of this present Congress providing for four additional battle ships. I know that those people, with the sturdy manhood with which they are imbued, with the wonderful progress which they have made, and with the great commerce which they have builded for this Republic upon the Pacific Ocean, are entitled to have a navy adequate for their peace and security.

I am satisfied, Mr. President, not only that the people of the Pacific coast favor this proposition, but that the people of this country, from whatever section they may hail, favor it, and as an evidence of popular opinion with respect to this question I send to the Secretary's desk an article appearing in the New York Telegram on the 23d instant, showing the attitude of the men who, to a very large extent, mold public opinion in this country—men who have their fingers upon the public pulse and who are thoroughly in touch with our national needs. I ask, Mr. President, that the article I have submitted be read for the information of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

[From New York Telegram, April 23, 1908.]

BIG-NAVY POLICY POPULAR.

Of the 162 editors and publishers who filled out the Evening Telegram battle-ship ballots, 126 were in favor of President Roosevelt's policy of building four battle ships at this time and believed that the nation should have a larger navy. These included Johnson and Bryan men, as well as those who had expressed themselves in favor of the nomination of either Roosevelt, Taft, Hughes, or the Republican dark horses.

Herman Ridder, editor of the New York Staats-Zeitung, and Edward L. Preterorius, editor of the Westliche Post, of St. Louis, Mo., generally regarded as the most representative German newspaper man of the West, both voted for the big-navy programme.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. PILES. Certainly.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I will ask the Senator from Washington if the editors there referred to were not the editors of newspapers in the Associated Press system of this country, comprising most, perhaps, of the large journals?

Mr. PILES. Those are the men, as I understand it, sir, that constitute the membership of the Associated Press throughout the country. Those men, Mr. President, come fresh from the people, and they voice their sentiments on this most important subject.

Comment has been made in the Senate from time to time with respect to the cruise of the battle ships to the Pacific coast. In my judgment, no wiser cruise could have been made or planned for the benefit of the American Navy than the one upon which our fleet is now engaged. In addition to the benefits that will

result to the Navy from such a cruise, the people of the Pacific coast who have not had the pleasure of visiting the Atlantic coast will now for the first time have an opportunity to view their country's fleet, toward which they have contributed according to their population and wealth as much as any other section of the nation. The advent of the fleet upon the Pacific coast will give the people there a realization of our actual naval strength, and those who officer and man the ships will come to an understanding of the importance of that section of the country and the inadequacy of the defenses provided for it.

I am not one of those, Mr. President, who have been fearful of war with Japan or any other country. We are a peace-loving, law-abiding people, without the desire to conquer any nation or to despoil it of its territory. We seek not to aggrandize ourselves by a resort to arms, but rather to add to the stability of our nation and to the happiness of our people by avoiding all unnecessary conflicts. Having achieved our liberty and our independence by a resort to arms, and having for a time divided our country and estranged our people in the most unhappy war that the world ever witnessed, we are content at last to rest in the security of our own homes and in the enjoyment of the fruits of our labors while those war who seek war. And while, Mr. President, we should avoid war in so far as may be consistent with our national honor, it is idle to say that we should not have a navy sufficient to secure our peace. No nation, however great or powerful it may be, can hope to maintain its peace with the world unless it is prepared to defend itself.

We have reached that period in our history when it is prudent, if not absolutely necessary, to have two fleets, one on the Atlantic coast and another on the Pacific coast, to insure our peace.

Our population and commerce have increased in an incredibly short time beyond all reasonable expectation. The increase of our population and the expansion of our commerce have made the Pacific coast an attractive field for the races of Asia. The migration of the Asiatics to our country has led to differences in the past of serious international consequence, and no one can say with any degree of certainty that similar differences will not occur in the future.

Japan, Mr. President, has made wonderful progress in the last twenty-five years; indeed, her progress is one of the marvels of the age. No one rejoices more sincerely in her remarkable advancement in civilization and in commerce and in all that goes to make her a great and powerful nation than the American people. But, rejoicing as we do in her onward and upward march, there is, unhappily, a question between us the settlement of which may some day sever the cord which binds us in international friendship. While I feel safe in saying that the people of the Pacific coast have no ill feeling against the Japanese as a people, there is a deep-seated conviction in the minds of our people, which time can not eradicate, that it is hurtful to our peace and happiness to permit Japanese laborers to invade the Pacific Coast States and displace our own working people. The Japanese laborer has been reared in a school of domestic economy totally different from that of the American laborer. This, Mr. President, I do not refer to as a reflection upon the laboring classes of the Japanese, but merely as illustrative of a condition which makes it impossible for the American laborer to compete with the Japanese laborer. And where competition is shown to be impossible, it goes without saying that the two classes can not dwell together in unity. Self-defense is innate in the American and in every other nationality.

When, therefore, the American sees the Japanese swarming his country, living on much less and working for much less than he can live on or work for, it is but natural that he should rebel and call upon his Government to take measures to exclude those from his country with whom he is unable to successfully compete in the struggle of life. If those against whom he complains are not to be excluded, or are not excluded as promptly as it is thought they should be, men sometimes resort to violence, which is always unfortunate and deplorable. There have been violent uprisings, not only in American territory, but in the British possessions bordering on the North Pacific Ocean. The statesmen of Japan, Mr. President, are, of course, fully conversant with the situation and would no doubt, if they could, prevent their laboring classes from going to either the American or British territory on the Pacific coast. But when it is understood that a Japanese laborer can ordinarily earn more on the Pacific coast in a day than he can earn in his own country in a week and a half, the difficulty of restraining him becomes painfully apparent.

There is every reason, Mr. President, why the American and Japanese nations should be fast friends. From the earliest time America has been the friend of Japan. They are the two

dominant powers in the Pacific Ocean, each striving to build a great commerce which will be beneficial to both, and it would be most unfortunate if the conditions to which I have briefly adverted, or an attempt on the part of Japan to close the open door in China or Manchuria, should bring about a conflict between the two friendly powers.

While both nations, Mr. President, are desirous of peace, no one can say what may occur in the future to precipitate war between America and Japan or any other country.

The time has come, I say, in the history of our country when this Government, not for war, which it abhors and which all patriotic Americans abhor, but for the security of our peace, should make provision for two fleets, one for the Pacific coast and one for the Atlantic coast, and, if we had two such fleets in this country, we would wage war against no nation and no nation on earth would wage war against us. So, in advocating four battle ships, I stand for peace and not for war.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. PILES. Certainly; I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HALE. If the Senator does not desire to be interrupted, I will not interrupt him.

Mr. PILES. I am very glad to yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. HALE. The thought occurred to me when the Senator was picturing so well the danger of an outbreak which may occur at any time, if at all, how would it be possible for him to get into that fight either of these two additional ships that he wants now constructed?

Mr. PILES. Mr. President, I do not expect to get the additional ships into any fight. I expect this Government to take the precaution that an ordinarily prudent individual, threatened with a possible danger, would take for self-defense. That is all I ask, or have a right to expect.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. PILES. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. Is there any peculiar virtue about four rather than any other number of battle ships? Would four affect the peace of the world more than five or six or a less number?

Mr. PILES. I am not arguing upon that theory, Mr. President. If I were, I should find myself arguing in a circle. The President of the United States has recommended to Congress four battle ships. I understand that the Department of the Navy and the Secretary of State concur in the President's views on this subject; and I take it that these gentlemen, who are informed, or should keep themselves informed, with respect to questions of this character, ought to know more about it than at least the majority of us who can not, in the nature of things, be so well advised in that regard as they.

Mr. HALE. Does not the Senator remember that the Secretary of State, to whom he has referred, has told us more than once that not only now there is no danger of complication or friction with Japan, but there has been no time when there has been any such condition?

Mr. PILES. I am very glad of that, Mr. President. As I said at the outset, I have no fear of war with Japan. I have no fear of this nation engaging in war with any of the great powers of the world. I am not standing here asking for four battle ships upon the theory that this country is going to engage in war; but I am advocating provision for four ships because it is necessary in the opinion of the Chief Executive of this country and those upon whom he relies for advice to plan now for four—not six nor two—battle ships.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. PILES. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator is talking about the possibility of war. I see no reason why this question, if it should be discussed in the Senate at all, should not be discussed frankly and openly. There can be no power with which war can be had upon the Pacific Ocean, which the Senator from Washington said must be the storm center of war, except with Japan? Does the Senator expect that Great Britain will join with Japan in this anticipated war of his, and does he want the United States to build a navy that will cope successfully with Great Britain's navy?

Mr. PILES. Mr. President, the Senator from Rhode Island is mistaken when he says I spoke of my anticipated war. I have anticipated no war. I anticipate none.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understood the Senator from Washington to say in his opening statement that the Pacific Ocean would be the storm center of whatever conflict took place in the future.

Mr. PILES. I said, if I remember correctly, Mr. President, that the Pacific Ocean would be the storm center of war if we had a conflict with Japan. That was my statement, as I now recall it; and I am not afraid of war. I predict no war. I hope we will never have war. But, Mr. President, no man in this country foresaw the Spanish-American war. No man could have been brought to believe six months before we engaged in that conflict that we would ever have a war with Spain. No man foresaw the trouble which occurred between the Americans and the Japanese in San Francisco a little more than a year ago, which strained the relations between this country and Japan. No man foresaw the raid that was made upon the Japanese in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia; and no man can foresee or foretell what another raid may mean.

There are certain classes of people in this country who would like to get us into war. There are certain classes in the Japanese Empire who would like to see Japan wage war. But there is every reason why the international friendship existing between this country and Japan should continue to the end. America has been her friend. No country in the world rejoices more in the great commercial progress and strides in civilization which she has made. But, Mr. President, rejoicing in that progress and in that civilization, we can not help the condition that exists. We can not foretell when a raid may be made upon the Japanese in any section of the Pacific coast. We can not tell when Japan may be forced by her people to take offense at the treatment of her subjects at the hands of some irresponsible individual or individuals on the Pacific coast.

Mr. President, that is one of the conditions which this country should take into consideration in determining this question. It is not wise policy to wait until war is upon us, and to spend hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars in defending ourselves against a foe.

Who can tell what will be the policy of Japan with respect to closing the open door in China and Manchuria? The greatest interest of the United States is to-day in the Pacific Ocean. Civilization demands that China be not disintegrated; that zones of trade or influence be not parceled out among the powers of the earth. These are problems with which we will sooner or later have to deal. One nation is going to dominate the Pacific, and if we do not some other nation will.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. PILES. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from Washington has referred to the Spanish-American war and our unpreparedness, and I simply wish to remind him that the preparations we were obliged to make in the beginning of the Spanish-American war ran our expenditures up to about \$130,000,000, nearly three times the expenditures of the two years before. I desire to view it fairly, but I can not see now where we invested that money; where our Navy has been permanently strengthened at all by reason of that sudden expenditure. It seems to me we ought to go along with a fixed and definite policy that will really strengthen our Navy, and not be called upon as an emergency arises to expend our money for useless implements of war, which we must abandon as soon as the war is over and which do not constitute a working part of our offensive and our defensive arms.

Mr. PILES. Mr. President, it has been said that if we provide for four battle ships we will offend other nations, and the world will say we are preparing for war while simulating peace. I see no force in this contention in view of what the maritime nations of the world are doing with respect to enlarging and improving their navies.

We started upon a new era of battle-ship building after the Spanish-American war, and why should the world find fault with our pursuing a well-defined and well-understood policy.

Again, if other nations are constructing a greater number and a larger and better class of battle ships than they heretofore thought necessary, why should we fail to keep pace with the other great powers so long as we act within the bounds of reason? Of what consequence are two or three or half a dozen old and obsolete battle ships as compared with one of the *Dreadnought* class?

Why should the world say we are preparing for war when we undertake to increase our Navy within reasonable limits or to construct the same class of battle ships that the great powers of the earth deem it advisable to construct for their peace? Why should my neighbor complain if I work upon the same precautionary lines for my peace and happiness that he works upon for his peace and happiness?

We take no offense because Japan is enlarging and improving her navy, and why should Japan take offense if we do what she is doing; what England, France, and Germany are doing?

Mr. President, it is said that it is the policy of Great Britain to maintain her navy equal to that of any two nations in the world. Does anyone take offense because of this policy or menace her by reason thereof? Does Great Britain encroach upon or seek war with any other power with that navy? No; she stands there in the sea with her people relying upon her great navy, not to wage war against the weak or the strong, but to preserve her peace. And, Mr. President, a navy sufficient for the preservation of our peace is all that I contend for.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. PILES. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from Washington has referred to the naval strength of Great Britain to the effect that nobody has menaced or threatened Great Britain. I simply want to add this suggestion to that thought: No one has menaced Great Britain, and yet the strength of the British navy has attracted Japan, and Japan and Great Britain have entered into a treaty, both offensive and defensive, to insure the territorial integrity of their possessions in the Far East. So while the British navy has menaced no one, it has attracted that powerful country in the Pacific to its side, and to-day those two countries are in treaty of alliance for the maintenance of their prestige and the welfare of their possessions in the Far East.

Mr. PILES. The Senator from Michigan is correct, and it is not at all astonishing that Japan should have been attracted to Great Britain by her splendid navy, and that she should have sought a defensive and offensive alliance with that great Empire. But with the Navy we have to-day, with, as I have said, eleven out of the thirty-one battle ships of an obsolete type—

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. PILES. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. Does not the Senator know that instead of the ships to which he refers being obsolete, the Navy Department tells us in its communication that they are among the best ships we have? We are appropriating this year for repairs upon these same ships ranging from five hundred to six hundred and seven hundred thousand, in order by those repairs that they may not be obsolete ships, but complete ships. There is not an obsolete ship of the battle-ship type in the American Navy to-day.

Mr. PILES. They are of an obsolete type, I understand. Take, for instance, the *Oregon*. The world never saw a greater fighting ship than the *Oregon* in her day. But what is her condition now? Would the Senator from Maine contend for a single moment that the *Oregon* could give battle to any power?

Mr. HALE. Indeed, sir, I do. The *Oregon*, the *Indiana*, and the *Massachusetts* are to-day good ships. They are good navigators. Their gunnery is equal to that of any ship. They will be repaired at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and, as Sir William White says, they go to make up some of the best ships and fully the equal of the same class of ships that were built when they were built.

Of course we improve, but it is a very great question whether the additional size is of any real benefit. Sir William White believes we reached the limit some time ago, and that the enormous vessels now built are not more efficient than the smaller ships. But every one of our battle ships, properly repaired, is to-day, or will be, ready to encounter not only a voyage around the globe, but if we have hostilities, battle upon the sea.

Mr. PILES. It may be that the repairs to the *Oregon* have been completed. If so, I was not aware of that fact.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. PILES. I do.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I did not intend to say anything about this particular phase until I should make my remarks to the Senate. The Senator from Washington is entirely right. I point out that the tonnage of the *Oregon* is 10,300, and if Sir William White thinks it is a question whether or not a 10,000 or a 13,000 ton ship is equal for offensive or defensive warfare, either, to a vessel of the type of the *Dreadnought*, why is it that his own government is now building scarcely anything but the heavy *Dreadnought* type and destroyers? I have no doubt he would be very glad to see us not increase our Navy, on the one hand, or to keep our ships at ten or thirteen thousand tons, on the other hand.

Mr. HALE. Sir William White and no other naval authority will perhaps contend that one ship like the *Oregon* or the *Massachusetts* or the *Indiana* is in all respects equal to the *Dreadnought*, but many naval authorities contend that the amount of money put into two *Dreadnoughts* would furnish three ships of 12,000 tons, and that they would be, as a collective force, better than two *Dreadnoughts*. But that is not a practical question, because we have settled that the ships which we are to build in the future are to be of the larger type. But I do not want it to go unquestioned that the other ships are obsolete.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. If the Senator from Washington will permit me—

Mr. PILES. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. As I say, I did not intend to take this up until I shall speak. But upon this point I should say to the Senator that he will also recognize the fact that other very eminent naval authorities, and perhaps the great weight of naval authority is that one vessel of the *Dreadnought* type in warfare would probably be equal to four of the *Oregon* type. Furthermore, the very statement of the Senator that we have now abandoned the former type and determined to build our battle ships from now on upon the *Dreadnought* type is an admission that the former type is not efficient for modern warfare, and what we now contend for is enough of the modern battle ships.

Mr. PILES. Mr. President, I believe in no navy for mere pomp or show. I believe in no great standing army. Happily for our country we need none, because we are unlike those European countries that are compelled, or feel compelled, to maintain equal or superior forces to defend themselves against the standing armies of contiguous or adjacent states.

But, with our immense coast line, unprotected to a very large extent, I believe in a navy sufficient to maintain our peace and to protect our people.

The President, impressed with the great responsibilities of his office and acting under the solemnity of his oath, would not have appealed to Congress in the impressive manner he has did he not feel that there is an imperative necessity for four battle ships. He is Commander in Chief of the Navy, and his recommendations on a question of such vital importance to us as a nation are entitled to weighty consideration. They should not be disregarded, except upon a clear showing that the President is absolutely wrong.

This is not a question of policy with respect to a subject of general legislation which may be modified or repealed at a subsequent session of Congress. It involves more than that. It involves the dignity of our nation and the peace, honor, and welfare of our people. For myself, not being able to foresee what the future may bring forth, I would rather be wrong in voting for four battle ships, if events should prove me wrong, than to take the present risk of being right in voting for two. If subsequent events should prove the correctness of the President's position and the incorrectness of the Senate's, if the amendment be defeated, it will then be too late to remedy the evil or repair the wrong. If I err, I prefer to err in providing too much rather than not enough for the common defense and the peace of all. If I should be wrong in voting for four battle ships, I may safely charge my mistake to an error of judgment; but, if wrong in voting against four battle ships, I could find no excuse, justification, or forgiveness.

Believing, as I do, profoundly in the peace of our country, believing that peace is for the best interests of all the world, I have felt it my duty to present this question to the Senate, and I feel it my duty to vote to sustain the President of the United States as Commander in Chief of the Navy in his appeal to Congress to give four battle ships instead of two as "a measure of peace and not of war." [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair admonishes the occupants of the galleries that under the rules of the Senate applause is not allowed.

Mr. PILES subsequently said: Since concluding my remarks I have received a letter, with accompanying resolutions. I ask that the letter be read and that the resolutions be printed at the end of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Secretary read as follows:

THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
CHICAGO STOCK EXCHANGE BUILDING,
Chicago, U. S. A., April 23, 1903.

Hon. SAMUEL H. PILES,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: In re the battle-ship measure now before the Congress, I inclose copy of a resolution adopted by this league and indorsed by business interests all over the country five years ago. There has been no change in public opinion since, except a general conclusion that the demand for increased naval equipment is more imperative than ever be-

fore, and it is hoped that, with either our Atlantic or Pacific coast line practically unprotected against foreign invasion, our national legislators will not overeconomize at this critical juncture.

Yours, very truly,

A. A. BURNHAM, General Secretary.

The resolutions referred to are as follows:

A GREATER NAVY.

Preamble and resolutions unanimously adopted by the standing committees of the National Business League.

Whereas the United States, with a coast line of nearly 6,000 miles, not including indentations of the land nor the boundaries of our island possessions, and with a foreign commerce which is exceeded by that of only one other nation, and, furthermore, is pledged to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, whereby the right to acquire territory upon the Western Hemisphere, either by purchase or conquest, is denied to any foreign power; and

Whereas the United States is in possession of a naval equipment which, in ships, officers, and men, is numerically inadequate as compared with the naval strength of several other countries and entirely insufficient for our protection in times of war, or for the enforcement of law and the preservation of order in our overseas territory; and

Whereas President Roosevelt in his second message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, after warm commendation of the efficiency of the naval force of the nation in proportion to its size, directs attention to its insufficiency and recommends its continual increase so as to keep pace with our commercial growth, as follows:

"There should be no halt in the work of building up the Navy, providing every year additional fighting craft. We are a very rich country, vast in extent of territory, and great in population; a country, moreover, which has an Army diminutive when compared with that of any other first-class power. We have deliberately made our own certain foreign policies which demand the possession of a first-class navy. The Isthmian Canal will greatly increase the efficiency of our Navy if the Navy is of sufficient size, but if we have an inadequate Navy, then the building of the canal would be merely giving a hostage to any power of superior strength. The Monroe doctrine should be treated as the cardinal feature of American foreign policy, but it would be worse than idle to assert it unless we intended to back it up, and it can be backed up only by a thoroughly good navy. A good navy is not a provocative of war. It is the surest guaranty of peace." Therefore be it

Resolved, That the standing committees of the National Business League do hereby recommend that Congress make early provisions for the enlargement of the Navy of the United States until it shall become able to successfully cope with the naval equipment of other nations; also that all battle ships, cruisers, gunboats, torpedo boats, torpedo destroyers, and other weapons for naval purposes shall be, so far as possible, of domestic material and construction: And be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be presented to all members of the Senate and House of Representatives at Washington, to commercial organizations throughout the country, and to the public press.

NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE.
ERSKINE M. FIELDS,

President.

E. ALLEN FROST,

General Counsel.

ALEXANDER H. REVELL,

Chairman Executive Committee.

EUGENE J. BUFFINGTON,

Chairman Finance Committee.

LA VERNE W. NOYES,

Chairman Committee on Manufactures.

ELLIOTT DURAND,

Chairman Committee on Commerce.

Attest:

AUSTIN A. BURNHAM, General Secretary.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., February 23, 1903.

Mr. HALE. Let the pending amendment be reported.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment at the request of the Senator from Maine.

The SECRETARY. On page 85, line 17, after the word "constructed," it is proposed to strike out "two" and insert "four," so that if amended it will read:

The President is hereby authorized to have constructed four first-class battle ships, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not exceeding \$6,000,000 each.

Mr. MCCREARY. Mr. President, I reside in a State which has no seacoast, but I take a deep interest in all legislation which concerns the interests of the whole country and which I think will be beneficial. I have always been in favor of a large Navy. In the Fiftieth Congress I supported and advocated the first appropriation that was ever made for the construction of a battle ship. Nearly twenty years have passed since that time, and I have watched with pride and pleasure our growing Navy. I have taken a deep interest in everything connected with our Navy. I have watched, too, Mr. President, the great battle-ship fleet which the President sent into the Pacific waters, and I indorse the action of the President in sending that fleet to the Pacific Ocean. I believe it has been of great benefit to the officers and men, and I believe also that it has been a benefit to our nation in showing to the world what a great Navy we have.

Mr. President, the leading nations of the world are increasing their respective navies. I desire to see this country, by proper legislation, gradually increase our Navy. The United States now ranks as the second naval power of the world, Great Britain being the first naval power. I have before me a statement which was presented by the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs a few days ago. It appears that Great Britain has fifty-six battle ships, thirty-eight armored cruisers,

while the United States has twenty-nine battle ships and twelve armored cruisers. Coming next to the United States is France with twenty-seven battle ships and twenty-three armored cruisers; Germany with twenty-eight battle ships and ten armored cruisers; Japan with thirteen battle ships and thirteen armored cruisers; Russia with nine battle ships and seven armored cruisers; Italy with thirteen battle ships and ten armored cruisers, and Austria with three battle ships and three armored cruisers.

I have referred to the comparative naval strength of the great powers of the world in order that I might show that while to-day we occupy the position of the second naval power, France has within two battle ships of as many as we have and Germany has within one, and unless we make a proper appropriation and provide for four battle ships, our country may drop down and no longer be the second naval power, but be in the third or fourth class. I desire to see the United States of America first in everything. I desire to see our progress, if possible, superior to that of any other country, and I am opposed to permitting the United States of America to retrograde in anything.

We can not expect at present, and it is not desired, that we have as many battle ships and armored cruisers as Great Britain, but when we remember that the population and wealth of the United States is nearly double the wealth and population of Germany and nearly double the wealth and population of France, we should be encouraged to increase our Navy and be convinced that the statesmen and lawmakers of those nations appreciate the necessity and benefit of a large navy.

I am in favor of the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington to provide in the naval bill now under consideration for four battle ships. If we provide for but two battle ships in this appropriation bill, we will be sure to provide for two more next year. The important question therefore is, Shall we provide now for four battle ships and have them all completed as soon as possible or only provide for two? If it was necessary we could raise 100,000 soldiers for the United States Army in a few weeks. We could raise 500,000 soldiers for the Army in the United States in a few months, but several years will be required to provide four battle ships. Therefore I repeat, if we are going to provide for two more battle ships next year in addition to two this year, it is best to adopt the pending amendment, which provides for four battle ships.

Mr. President, I am in favor of peace. Twenty years ago I advocated peace and arbitration at the other end of the Capitol. I had the honor to be the author of the bill to provide for an international American conference, commonly called the Pan-American Congress, in which seventeen nations were represented, and the two great questions provided for in that bill which became a law were arbitration for the settlement of international disputes and the encouragement of reciprocal commercial relations.

When I advocate a provision for four battle ships in this bill, it is not because I think war is imminent. I do not believe that war is imminent between this country and any other country. I am in favor of peace, and I believe that a great navy will help to maintain peace. I believe that a great navy will not invite war, as some have alleged, but I believe that it will promote peace. Although the outlook does not indicate war, we have to admit that war is possible. No cloud of war was in sight one month before the Spanish war began—unforeseen, thrilling, and remarkable events suddenly precipitated a war.

The Venezuelan incident which some years ago threatened to cause war came suddenly and unexpectedly, as did also the San Francisco incident. It is the part of wisdom to be ready.

The last war that the United States participated in was a naval war, and I believe the next war, if we have war soon or if we have war in the future, however remote it may be, will be a naval war.

Mr. President, we should have a Navy that is commensurate with our needs. The day may come when we will want a Navy in the Atlantic and a Navy in the Pacific. I do not think that time has yet arrived. I think if we provide for four more battle ships we will have as many as we need for the present. Two years from now we may need more, but we should provide for a Navy that is commensurate with the needs of our country. The world should know that we love peace and that we are also prepared for war, and then we will have peace with honor.

The President of the United States in his message to Congress earnestly recommended that Congress provide immediately for four additional battle ships. He is, under the Constitution, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. He knows the diplomatic situation. He knows the demands which should be promptly met, and I believe he is prompted by patriotism and the highest and best motives and the Senate of the United States should comply with his recommendation.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Washington [Mr. PILES].

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Mr. President, last night when the Senator from Washington [Mr. PILES], at a late hour, offered his amendment and made the reasonable request, so usual in this body at the end of a long and arduous day, that it might go over until this morning, the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], in courteously and politely acceding to that request, said that he would do so and should not himself consider it necessary to discuss this question, because, as he said—

I shall see no reason for consuming the time of the Senate upon a matter as to which I presume its mind is already made up.

I quote his exact words as reported in the RECORD.

I know, Mr. President, that the Senator did not mean a certain interpretation which might be put on those remarks by persons unkindler than myself. It is inconceivable that in this body, which has come to be known as "the greatest deliberative body in the world," a question involving, in the opinion of its Chief Magistrate, the defense and honor of the nation, should be determined *without any deliberation at all*. It is inconceivable that the Senate of the United States in what the future may show to be one of its historical moments has "*made up its mind*" before a fact has been adduced, before an argument has been presented, before one word of discussion has taken place.

So I am very sure that the Senator from Maine did not mean that the Senate had "*made up its mind*" without consideration. Surely he did not mean that this "greatest deliberative body in the world" is a mere automaton whose votes are herded and cast as the strings are pulled. No, I am sure he meant merely that Senators have had sufficient time, and each of them for himself has read all the arguments upon either side, and from the abundance of their information have made up their minds in advance; and that so completely were they posted that no further discussion was necessary or desired. Of course that is what the Senator meant.

I think it would be fortunate, Mr. President—

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. So far from in any way by my action last night at the end of a very wearisome day undertaking to prevent any discussion, I consented at once—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly; I said so.

Mr. HALE (continuing). To the proposition of the Senator moving the amendment that it should go over. I knew what the Senator from Indiana intended, as he had a right to do, to debate the subject and to give us one of the great speeches of his life, as he always does, and I entered no demurrer to that, and no objection. I simply did venture to say that so far as I am concerned I did not expect to take any of the time of the Senate upon this amendment, for the reason that I did not think it needed it.

It is not a new subject, Mr. President, as the Senator knows. It has been uppermost and talked about in the newspapers, and discussed at length after a most animated contest in the other branch, where it was decided by an overwhelming vote. It must be assumed that unless Senators have either failed to read the accounts and the news and the debates, or are waiting to hear what the Senator from Indiana will say before they vote, it is not in any way contemptuous of the right of debate that I said what I did.

The Senator ought not in any way to give the impression that I was trying to cut off debate. I presume most of the debate will be upon the side the Senator espouses so ably, as he always does. But the Senator must not be concerned if Senators on this side do not feel that it is necessary to take up the time of the Senate in answering him. I do not know but that other Senators do propose to answer him. My mind is made up on the subject, and it was made up a long time ago. While I shall listen with pleasure to the Senator I do not think that even he can convert me. All I meant last night was to indicate that so far as I was concerned I did not care to take the time of the Senate.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I am very much obliged to the Senator from Maine for illuminating my poor remarks with his all too lucid explanation. The Senator will bear me out, for he is listening to every word, that I especially acquitted the Senator from indicating that "*the Senate had made up its mind*" before debate had taken place, although that is the language which I read from the RECORD that the Senator used last night.

As to what the Senator says about the kind of speech that I am going to make, that compliment, of course, I appreciate. But it shows the same knowledge of the future that the Senator indicated last night when he said that without a word of

debate upon one of the gravest subjects that can come before us the "mind of the Senate was made up" in advance. Nor does the fact that the House has passed the measure in a certain form relieve us, as the Senator seems to indicate now, from our constitutional right and our constitutional duty to consider it separately. Is not that why the Senate of the United States was instituted, and has not the discharge of that function been one of its greatest virtues and one of its greatest glories?

I repeat that in stating that "the Senate had made up its mind" *without a word of discussion or a word of debate or a moment of deliberation* upon a question which every foreign cabinet in the world is now watching for our decision, I entirely acquit the Senator of the imputation which those remarks might bear in some less kindly quarters, that the Senate was not what the American people have been proud to call it, "the greatest deliberative body in the world," but, as I said a moment ago, an automaton whose votes might be gathered and cast not by their judgment or their study. I distinctly said that I had no doubt the Senator merely meant that every one of the Senators here had heretofore read the evidence in this case privately, had considered the arguments pro and con, and needed no further light or thought. And each Senator knows in his own mind and heart whether that is just what he has done and whether or not the vote he casts is upon that kind of preparation.

I am sure that that is what the Senator from Maine meant, and that therefore, perhaps, although we who are speaking for this great measure may be merely speaking against a Senate already convinced in a silent and secret way—of course by their study and by their books—yet we may be permitted to go on merely as a matter of justice to ourselves and our record before the nation and before history.

But, Mr. President, too much time is consumed upon that, and I wish to come directly to the question.

"THE TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS."

One of the first great pieces of literature that attracted my attention as a youth was the historic oration of Charles Sumner on the True Grandeur of Nations. It is one of the six greatest utterances that ever fell from human lips. There he summed up in words whose brilliancy was almost inspired all the arguments for peace. That great address has affected the sentiment of the world against war more, perhaps, than any utterance that has ever fallen from the lips of man. To that doctrine, from that day to this, I have heartily subscribed. It entered profoundly into my soul, and from then till now has influenced my judgment and my life.

With the single exception of honor, peace is the most desired thing upon this globe, and the recommendation of the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy of the Republic upon which we are soon to vote expressly states that *it is in the interest not of war, but of the nation's peace.*

Mr. President, one argument strikes us with mountainous distinction at the beginning of this discussion. The other day the Senator from Maine said that "war is impossible." "Where," said he, "will those legions come from?" We have heard that sentiment echoed in conversation in this Chamber. Every Senator who has personally spoken to me as intending not to support the President's programme of peace with honor has given as his chief reason that war is out of the question—impossible.

I hope that is true, but Senators must follow the logic of their premises. If "war is impossible," then every dollar that we vote to build up a navy is so much money filched without reason from the pockets of the people.

If war is "impossible," as I hope it is, then whenever we appropriate a single dollar for a single ship we take it out of the pockets of an industrious people for no purpose. So, if that argument is true, it is not only an argument against four battle ships; it is an argument against two battle ships, or one battle ship, or a single vessel armed with guns or covered with steel.

If, on the other hand, war is possible, then our Navy must be kept upon the basis of that possible contingency. Will any man say to-day that he is willing to stake his reputation and judgment for the future upon the assumption that our Navy is now adequate to answer in any war that may arise? If not, he condemns his own vote.

So if I believed that "war is impossible" I would vote against any Navy appropriation whatever. But if war is possible, then we must follow our logic and vote for a Navy commensurate with that possibility becoming an actual fact. Can any man escape that logic?

Mr. President, it is easy in times of peace to sneer at the possibility of armed conflict; but war, as was pointed out by the learned Senator from Mississippi [Mr. MONEY], who never speaks in this body on any question without enlightening and

informing his colleagues, wars have usually been sudden, just as personal conflicts between men. Those who foresee them and prophesy them are usually laughed to scorn by those who claim that peace can not possibly end. But examination shows that in our own brief history as a nation the wars that we have had have suddenly sprung up when men were proclaiming they could not occur; and our history is full of instances where the most unexpected occurrences brought us to the very verge of battle.

TROUBLE WITH ALGIERS.

Go back, Mr. President, to our trouble with Algiers. The Tripolitan power was ravaging the seas, and within a brief time that war sprang into flame. There was where the gallant Decatur made for his name immortal fame; and it was on that occasion that his utterance also became immortal—"Our country, may she ever be right; but right or wrong, our country!" Yet statesmen, as wise as the Senator from Maine, said that that conflict was "impossible."

Then, again, there were the embargoes early in our history which furnished the occasion for one of the most historic decisions of our Federal courts and almost precipitated us into a serious conflict, and no man could have foreseen six months in advance that it was upon us.

The proposition I am now discussing is the point made out by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. MONEY] the other day, that wars in this country and wars in history—as I shall show from the Senator's own statement in a moment—have been *unanticipated by many of our wisest men.*

I now come to an instance which is within the memory of every man here, however young. That was the famous Mafia incident in New Orleans. In that case, Mr. President, several Italian subjects were murdered by a mob in Louisiana. The Italian Government the very next day demanded that justice should be meted out to the murderers on the one hand and an indemnity and apology should be made upon the other hand. The Italian minister pointed out what was undeniably true, that an express treaty stipulation had been violated; the treaty stipulation being that Italian subjects in this country were guaranteed the same protection that American citizens were guaranteed in Italy. No statesman, nothing short of omniscience, could have foreseen *twenty-four hours before the event* the action of the New Orleans mob.

THE MAFIA INCIDENT.

A protest was immediately made. Mr. Blaine replied that an outrage had occurred within the jurisdiction of a State, and that it was beyond the power of the American Republic, with whom Italy had the treaty, to carry out the provisions of that treaty to bring the offenders to justice, and denied their right to indemnity. The diplomatic correspondence continued for some time. The upshot was that the Italian minister was withdrawn from Washington. I have here his notification of withdrawal. He sent a note to Mr. Blaine saying that, in view of the strained relations of the two countries, or words to that effect, he was directed by His Majesty to leave the American capital.

That is how near, Mr. President, we were on the verge of conflict *within twenty-four hours before which no human being could have foreseen its possibility.* Finally the dispute was settled by the American Republic agreeing to Italy's demand and paying the families of the murdered Italian subjects \$25,000, or something like that, in indemnity.

MR. CLEVELAND AND VENEZUELA.

Then, the next incident, Mr. President, was the famous Venezuelan matter. I hold in my hand an account of that. I will venture to say that seven days before Mr. Cleveland sent in his historic message—the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] was here, and should know, as is true of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], and other veteran Senators—*no human being here or abroad could possibly have foreseen the message of President Cleveland.*

Everybody remembers—all of us can remember—the tremendous wave of excitement that swept over the entire nation. I have always thought it was nothing but the forbearance of Great Britain and her statesmen, who, upon second thought, modified Lord Salisbury's first fervent language of indignation, that saved us from conflict. I will take the time of the Senate to read a brief account of this, because the opposition to the President's course has chiefly been put upon the "impossibility" of conflict; and I am showing how we have been on the verge of it, when no man, a few hours before, could have known it. Speaking of Mr. Olney's coming into office:

The vigor shown by Mr. Olney when Attorney-General, in enforcing law and order during the Chicago strike, he now displayed in conducting foreign affairs. With a boldness going to the extreme limit of

diplomacy he insisted, on the ground of the Monroe doctrine and of our essential sovereignty upon this continent, that Great Britain should submit to arbitration a long-standing boundary dispute with Venezuela. This being refused, Mr. Cleveland on December 17, 1895, sent to Congress a startlingly bold message on the subject, which rent the air like a thunderbolt. A declaration of war could hardly have produced more commotion. After recommending the creation of a commission to determine and report upon the true division line between Venezuela and British Guiana he said: "When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, we have determined of right belonged to Venezuela."

In the whole history of this Republic there never has been used language by the Chief Executive which was so near in itself a declaration of war. Our present President has been accused of violent language in delicate situations. I have, for the purpose of looking that over, gone carefully over his public papers and public addresses, and I can find nothing but guarded language. Suppose he to-day were to issue a message like the "conservative" President Cleveland—a message in which I am inclined to think, as the American people did at that time, that President Cleveland was right—he would be denounced from one end of the country to the other as a man who was plunging his country into the throes of war; and so the message of President Cleveland almost did. I think it was only the forbearance and the long and farsighted policy upon the part of the British statesmen that averted it. Here is what follows:

The two branches of Congress vied with each other in rallying to the President's support. The Commission was provided for at once by an act unanimously passed in both Houses, neither pausing to refer it to a committee. Wall street, however, took the other side. It was estimated the American securities fell in value from \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000 in consequence of the message.

Mr. President, the next trouble that all of us have immediate knowledge of is the San Francisco affair. I shall take no time to describe it. It has upon this floor been many times clearly and startlingly set forth. The treaty, as claimed by Japan, was violated; as claimed by us, it was not. If it had not been for the final forbearance of the people of San Francisco in executing what they thought their constitutional rights, if it had not been for the delicate address of the President of the United States in handling that great question, there would have been a *casus belli*; and everyone knows that, not only in this country, but in every capital of Europe, everybody was discussing the possibility of armed conflict.

Mr. President, it was pointed out the other day by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. MONEY] that our dual form of government makes our foreign relations difficult. Not forever can we depend upon the idea that foreign nations are going to consider that their treaties are not violated when their subjects are killed within our borders merely because it happens within a State; and if they should take the opposite view, whether right or wrong, war would be upon us.

Let me give an illustration, which I think will clearly show this fact to anyone; and do not forget that what I am trying to show is that in the past, and therefore in the future, the causes of war, and the conflict itself, spring up like a sudden flame from a match dropped in a pine forest; and the wisest of men declare them "impossible" even when the guns are being prepared for action.

Suppose, Mr. President, that in the State of California, or the Senator's State of Washington, or in any Pacific coast State, the race conflict should produce the lynching of a Japanese subject, as so many colored men have been lynched both North and South—suppose such a thing should happen for any reason and it were seen that the murdered man was not to blame; does any person doubt that Japan would demand redress? Does not everybody know that we could not give redress under our former interpretation of our dual system of government? These are matters in which war's possibility slumbers and which Senators upon their conscience, considering the safety of the Republic, have no right to sneer at or laugh at, and can not deny.

A POSSIBILITY NOT TO BE DENIED.

Mr. President, if time permitted, I should go on for a considerable space examining the history of our country upon this question, showing that in every conflict we have had clear up to the outbreak of the hostilities, in this Chamber and in the other Chamber, able, learned, and patriotic men have always said in every single instance that *war was absolutely "impossible;"* and yet within a few days we would find ourselves engulfed in its red torrent.

Now, Mr. President, concerning that very subject, in the Revolution right down to its outbreak—I have the books downstairs and could read them, but you must take my statement—it was predicted by the most conservative men in the colonies that there would be no break with Great Britain. It happens

to be a fact of history that that war was fought and our independence won by the commonest of the common people in this land, led by a man who did not belong to that class—George Washington. It happens to be a fact of history that the commercial class of New York at that time were absolutely against the colonists; that they did not furnish a regiment or a company, and that the Declaration of Independence was itself opposed because it would "hurt business." On every hand there were able, sincere men who said that the Revolution was an "impossibility," and that nobody wanted to sever from the mother country; and yet the Revolution came.

Then, again, the same thing was said in fervid speeches concerning the Mexican war; and yet the Mexican war came. Then in the civil war down to within six months of that conflict there were eminent men who declared it could not and must not come, and that all talk of it was what was called in Boston "rubadub agitation;" and yet the civil war came, came with all of its dreadful horrors, came with all of its glories for the soldiers who served on each side of that historic strife.

Mr. President, we do not need to go back to that to show that the prophets of peace, who always have been laughing down the "possibility of war," are not entirely accurate. I hold in my hand the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I quote from the able speech made by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] prior to the outbreak of the Spanish war, where he says:

There never was a war that had in it the elements of an honest and sincere struggle for liberty against oppression that did not arouse not only the sympathy, but the active aid of hundreds and thousands of gallant men, and this insurrection—

That is, the Cuban insurrection—

has excited none of that feeling in this country.

That is what the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] then said.

SPANISH WAR NOT FORESEEN.

The Senator at that time was very anxious that war should not come. I happened to be, in my humble way, as a private citizen, in exactly the same position. Those who were hounding President McKinley to put forward a war were, in my judgment as much as in the judgment of the Senator from Maine, very imprudent, to say the least; and yet this instance shows how the most careful men may be wrong about a historic incident, for *within two or three months from the time the Senator from Maine uttered that speech we were engaged in the Spanish conflict.*

Then I remember another thing. I went some years ago, in 1901, through Manchuria before it was opened to the world. I believe that I was the only person permitted to do so while it was still closed. An English officer was arrested near Mukden and sent out of the country. Mr. Wirt Gerrare, another Englishman, went through disguised. When I got through there and after a visit to Japan, I came to the conclusion that war between Russia and Japan was absolutely certain.

Upon returning to America I put my views and the reasons for them in writing in magazine articles. I remember of having talked to certain very eminent gentlemen in public life at that time, who were literally contemptuous of the possibility of that dreadful conflict that later came. I said at that time that it appeared to me, from an examination on the ground, that war must come in five years—and *war did come in exactly five years.* The Senator from Maine will remember that later on, about the time these papers were consolidated into the form of a book, I had a very long conference with him upon the question whether, after all, that great conflict was possible.

He showed me so convincingly that *it could not come;* that the financial situation in each country was such as to make it "impossible;" that the enlightened opinion of the world would prevent it, that I actually modified the chapter upon that subject, saying that it was a "probability" instead of a "certainty;" and yet in *three months* from the time of that long and, to me, most interesting and valuable conference, *war between Russia and Japan was filling all the East with its thunders and the rivers of Manchuria with blood.* So we see how mistaken the Senator then was as to the "impossibility of war."

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. I do not remember the conference as distinctly as the Senator has stated it.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. It made an impression on me.

Mr. HALE. But I have no doubt the Senator is correct, and that I did not at that time suppose that a needless war would be precipitated between those two peoples. What I am now thinking of is not whether either the Senator or I guessed right about that war. We did not appreciate the nearness of the two

countries and the inevitable questions that had already arisen, and which would not down, nor did either he or I appreciate the aroused spirit of Japan, not intense for conquest then, but the proper national self-assertion and power to maintain it that had grown up in Japan. Neither the Senator nor I guessed right, because we did not appreciate the situation.

I wish now the Senator would tell the Senate whether he thinks there is the slightest similarity between the conditions then existing enveloping the action both of Russia and of Japan, near neighbors, contending about contiguous territory, with a hostility that had been developing for years, and when the Senator was as confident that there would be no war as he was that Russia would prevail if there were war—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. The Senator is wrong in both those statements. [Laughter.]

Mr. HALE. Then I take that back. I certainly got the impression that the Senator believed that Russia would prevail. I certainly believed so.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. On the contrary, I believe it is true that I was the only writer upon that subject, excepting only Colonel Gadsby, of the German army, who said there was any possibility of Japan's winning the contest; and, furthermore—and it was referred to after the war had ended by an editorial in a prominent paper—I said in my book that Japan could in three weeks land an army corps in Korea and establish and defend a line of transports. More than that; I said in my book that Japan could occupy Korea and drive the Russians back in Manchuria and that the Russians would have—

Mr. HALE. Well, I did not know—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. The other point about which the Senator is wrong is this: I did think, not only that war was not possible, as the Senator says, but that it was absolutely certain. Five years before it took place, in published magazine articles, I said that *within five years there would be war between Russia and Japan*. I modified that only three months before the war occurred because of the long conference which I had—and I always seek them—with the Senator from Maine, whose wisdom I then followed, and follow now wherever I can, if my reason permits me. [Laughter.]

Mr. HALE. I did not know that the Senator had taken this matter up and predicted it five years before. I did not know that he was such a long-range prophet. But the essential thing now is—and I should like the Senator to tell the Senate—whether he thinks there is any similarity between the conditions that enveloped both Russia and Japan, which resulted in war by Japan moving first, and the present conditions affecting the United States and Japan.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. The Senator first makes a statement and then asks a question. I will take them in their order. He says that we were both mistaken; that we had not rightfully appreciated the situation, although the searchlight of the world was directed upon that spot. That is precisely the point I am making. I am trying to show that the gravest wisdom, the most careful foresight, the most experienced statesmen—and it does me great pleasure to say the Senator from Maine is a high example of them—have often been mistaken in their forecasts of conflicts.

The Senator by his remarks now shows what I am trying to prove, that if the Senator was then mistaken he has only been one of the great company of statesmen which through all history have been similarly mistaken as to the possibility of war; and we can easily see why humane men with tender hearts, such as that of the Senator from Maine and all Senators here, shrink from the possibility of conflict. We wish it will not come, and therefore we think it will not come, and in the instance mentioned is a splendid illustration before us of how even the wisest and most careful men, such as the Senator from Maine, may be mistaken concerning the most dreadful events.

Now, as to the question the Senator asked me, if there is any similarity between our position with any power and that of Japan and Russia, Mr. President, the Senator will certainly agree, on second thought, that *that is a subject into which we can not here go*. He well knows that it is impossible for any Senator on this floor, even in executive session, to analyze the possibilities of conflict with a now friendly power, *specifically naming it*. When I read the debates in the House, admirable as I thought those debates were, it was a source to me of sincere regret that powers were mentioned by name and the certainty of conflict pointed out. I only wish it were possible, for purposes of discussing this solemn prayer to us made by the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy under his constitutional duty to the Republic, to discuss certain questions. But we can not specifically do so. *We can do so in general only*.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Pardon me a moment. The limit of our debate is to point out in this public way the necessity for our

preparedness and the extent to which other nations, now, and as we hope always to be, friendly, have themselves prepared. *What the Executive may have in his possession no man knows*. Doubtless he has his reasons. Since I have read that message I have gone over the other messages of President Roosevelt, and nowhere can I find the solemn words which he there uses, and that is the reason why I do not answer the second question of the Senator from Maine.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. I agree entirely with the Senator that to discuss and point out these specific dangers, the imminence, the threat of war with any nation, under existing circumstances, is not a question we should go into here in open session, and ought not to often, except under the greatest stress and provocation, in executive session.

I should not have put the question to the Senator if he had not labored so continuously upon the danger of war, the possibility of war, the likelihood of war, as the strength of his case for the larger increase of the Navy.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Will the Senator pardon me?

Mr. HALE. And the instance—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I was willing for the Senator to interrupt me. May I not interrupt him?

Mr. HALE. Certainly.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Is there any other legitimate excuse for our building a navy at all?

Mr. HALE. Oh, no; I do not agree with the Senator in that.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I am asking the question.

Mr. HALE. I think there is a point we can reach, which we have reached, where we have a sufficient navy for defense; and we have no war. But that is not what is between the Senator and me now. The Senator persistently rested his case upon the danger of war, the likelihood of war, the instances whence sudden war was precipitated upon us, and while he did not in terms select the nation, the people, though he did by reference, he made this whole question revolve around the possibility or probability of a war as the reason why we should increase the naval establishment.

I am sorry he did, Mr. President. I think that in itself is an alarming thing. I do not think that condition—and I have no right to arraign the judgment of the Senator—and that danger should be too much pushed if there is any sensitiveness anywhere; and it was only because of that that I asked the other question, which the moment I asked it I saw I did not want the Senator to answer.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. The Senator, without any intention, evades the point I was making. The Senator, however, in doing so, again repeats the chief argument of those who are against granting the Commander in Chief's request by saying, a moment before he sat down, that we can not possibly have any war.

I started the debate by saying that if that is true, then every cent devoted to the Navy is filched from the pockets of the people. If it is not true, and war is a possibility, then the Navy must be upon the basis of that possibility becoming a fact. It was to show that it is unsafe for us as legislators to go upon the prophecy that "war is impossible," which the Senator has again made, that I have been citing all these instances, ending with the Senator himself showing that the greatest statesmen of our history have been mistaken about that fact. That, therefore, destroys the argument that Senators may have for voting against the President's request, because if the greatest statesmen in this country, including the Senator from Maine, have been emphatically mistaken upon that question, we must not trifle with the interests and the safety and the honor of this Republic by going upon any such assumption. That is the point I was making.

Now, then, in reference to the rights upon this floor, as to what I think we should do, I think we can examine the state of preparedness of other nations. I think we can use them as an example. But so far as I am concerned, *I do not think that in this open forum or even in executive session we ought to discuss the probability of conflict with any specific power*. I think if we could freely do so, there would not be very many votes against this proposition.

I concede that a number in the Senate of the older Senators, the veteran Senators, whose excellent examples I have before me, take the other view, that there can not possibly be any war; and yet there is an eminent weight of authority to the contrary. I have here what I am going to have read merely because it is from one of the most eminent public men in the United States. It was made in a public speech, and repeated in a public speech, and printed conspicuously in a Washington newspaper. I send to the desk and ask to have read the ex-

tracts marked "1" and "2" in their order from the speech of Mr. Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read, as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. Justice Harlan, addressing the delegates to the third annual banquet of the Navy League, held at the New Willard last night, looked into the future for a few years and saw there the threat of a "yellow peril," which shall involve this earth in the most frightful war in history. The rugged old justice, "a soldier of the civil war and not a Jingo," he said, drew a picture of what our Navy should be, and why it should be what he advocated.

There were other speakers at the banquet, which was preceded earlier in the day by receptions to the members of the Navy League by President Roosevelt and Admiral Dewey. Other speakers there were besides Mr. Justice Harlan, but they were speakers who took perhaps the same view as the great Kentuckian on the need of an increase in the Navy and who saw no such yellow-lined clouds in the Far East as he saw and spoke of to those present.

There is no such thing as friendship between nations as there is between men.

Do you think that England cares a cent or that Germany cares a cent about the increase of our Navy?

Their respect for us depends upon their belief that we can take care of ourselves. I want to see our Navy such that no nation on the earth could think for a moment of forcing a contest or entering into a contest with us.

I do not say that we will have war in the near future, but looking into that future it seems certain that there will be a conflict some day that will shake the earth. If it falls upon us, and I do not say that it will, I want to see our country in a position to meet it.

I want to see the country in such a position that no nation on earth can ever dare to go against it. I want to see \$50,000,000 a year for ten years spent on our Navy. I said that one year ago at a banquet of this league, and I wish to say it again.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Those are not the words of an excitable man. They are not the words of an alarmist. They are the words, most maturely considered—because the justice says he has repeated them twice—of one of the greatest justices that ever sat upon the bench of the Supreme Court.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I should like to suggest to the Senator from Indiana that the conservative author of that article is no more conservative than was the distinguished Senator from Vermont, Mr. Proctor, whose utterances upon this floor just preceding the Spanish war, in my judgment, did more to bring on that war than anything that took place in the country that year. I remember very well his remarkable speech, without any attempt at oratory or embellishment, in which he related in this Chamber a tale which it was my pleasure to hear. I had heard the facts stated by him denied again and again by Senators here, and that simple, plain story of the actual condition which existed in Cuba really provoked our controversy. To the honor of his memory be it said that he spoke truthfully, fairly, and justly. Now, if the Senator will permit me for a moment further?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I dissent wholly from the idea that war is at all imminent. I do not see a single war cloud—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I do not think so either. My argument has been upon the contrary.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not see a single cloud in the world's horizon which menaces our peace or our good order. I could not justify my vote in favor of the amendment of the Senator from Washington upon any theory that we are near war or that it is at all remotely possible. But I will base my vote, if I shall vote for this amendment, upon the idea that the President of the United States, who has the direction of our diplomatic affairs in his hands, has asked that it be done; and it is just possible that the President may desire this done in order to aid in the accomplishment of some diplomatic advantage to our country with which we are not familiar and about which perhaps we have no right to inquire.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I agree with all the Senator has said, and I am very much obliged for his most informing interruption. I shall not now quote any more eminent authorities, but I quote this one merely to show that all the opinions as to the possibility of war are not upon the side that it can not possibly occur. I am quoting Justice Harlan to show that one of the most eminent men in the nation thinks differently from the Senator from Maine; and where great, honorable, patriotic men differ, we have no right to trifle with possibilities. That is the point. And all of this was done because the argument has been made time and again that such a thing is not possible. I am showing to the contrary.

This thought occurs to me in that connection. Justice Harlan was a soldier, a great soldier, and I observe that the men who

are most determinedly against war are the men who themselves have tasted its bitterness, and they are the men who want to take measures to prevent it. They know its horrors.

The justice whom I have quoted is a man of perhaps about the same experience in public affairs as the honorable and distinguished Senator from Maine, but he went through four years of desperate conflict. He knows what it means, and in reading literature upon this subject I have found that not only are those men who have been in the war the most fervid apostles of peace, but that knowing what war really is from personal experience they also know how to take a definite and concrete means to prevent it.

NAVY INSURES PEACE.

This is not a war measure. Senators, THIS IS A PEACE MEASURE. A big navy insures peace. That, Mr. President, is the consensus of practically every statesman in the world. Since the debates in the House I have been looking up as carefully as I could some of the statements of foreign statesmen as well as our own upon the subject. Every one of them wants peace and every one of them regards an adequate preparation for defense as the greatest guaranty of peace. A big navy would have saved us from war and humiliation in 1812. At that time the British inflicted upon us a humiliation that still burns in the blood of every American. They destroyed our cities; they came up the Potomac and captured and burned the Capitol of the Republic. They drove the Administration out. We would have had no war if we had had at that time a powerful navy.

I have had it stated to me by men whose judgment I am compelled to trust, not excitable men, men careful, studious, experienced, that had we had three more first-class battle ships before the Spanish war, that whole controversy would have been settled as the Senator from Maine so wisely labored to have it settled, by the peaceful methods of diplomacy instead of by battle on land and on the high seas. It was believed in every admiralty of Europe that the navies of Spain and the American Republic were nearly equally matched, and Spain was literally driven to a test of strength. Four more ships of the first class would have shown to the world that she was overmatched. She would have been excused in the opinion of nations in determining that conflict by means of diplomacy. But we did not have the four battle ships.

Mr. DIXON rose.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Excuse me for a moment. There was at that time the same resistance to an increase in our Navy that there is now. We heard the cry of "economy." While those battle ships would have cost us a few millions, they would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of lives. On which side lay the "economy" in that proposition?

Now I will hear the Senator from Montana.

Mr. DIXON. The Senator from Indiana has described how narrowly we averted war with England during the Venezuelan trouble.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Yes.

Mr. DIXON. How many battle ships did we have at that time?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. During the Venezuelan affair?

Mr. DIXON. Yes. Did we have any?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I do not know. At that time—it is to the eternal honor of the Democratic party—the Navy had just begun its modern building.

Mr. DIXON. How many war vessels did we really have?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I do not know; and I repeat what I have twice said, that after President Cleveland's message, which historians call a practical declaration of war, conflict was averted only by the self-restraint, the settled policy, and the foresight of British statesmen, and not at all because of the fact that we were weak on the water. Lord Salisbury at first flung back our challenge in our teeth, but after they had considered what the future held forth, what they hoped to be the relation of that nation to our own, it was forbearance which prevented conflict and not our weakness.

Now, I want to call attention—

Mr. BACON. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I am perfectly willing to yield; I invite all interruptions; but merely to ask questions.

Mr. BACON resumed his seat.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I do hope the Senator will present his question.

Mr. BACON. It is immaterial.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Now, I will give another illustration. After Japan's war with China Japan exacted as her indemnity the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula. That is the peninsula

on which Port Arthur is located. It is perhaps the richest portion of Manchuria. After the cession had taken place, Japan was compelled in a subsequent treaty to recede the Liaotung Peninsula to China. It was the recession of that peninsula, the robbing of Japan of the fruits of her victory, that brought on the Russo-Japanese war.

Very well! *Had Japan at that time had the navy she now has*, she would never have been compelled to give up the Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur. She was forced to do it by a demonstration in her waters of the strength of the combined navies of Russia, Germany, and France.

The only reason she yielded on the one hand and the only reason the other nations made their demonstration to force her to yield on the other hand was her naval weakness at that time. Had Japan at that period had the navy she has to-day, the Liaotung Peninsula never would have been taken from her, a *casus belli* never would have existed between her and Russia thereafter, and the greatest conflict of modern times would have been averted by the ownership by Japan of six battle ships at the end of her war with China.

Does it impress Senators as to the importance of building battle ships, when we consider the treasure that Russia spent, the treasure that Japan spent, or the treasure lost that would have been saved as a matter of history by *six battle ships* at the time Japan was forced to give up the Liaotung Peninsula?

Again, after Japan had been forced to give up the Liaotung Peninsula, had Russia, before the outbreak of her war with Japan, had a *great first-class navy in Asiatic waters* there is no question in the mind of any student of eastern and oriental diplomacy that the difficulties between Russia and Japan would have been settled by diplomacy instead of upon the battlefield. These are illustrations vividly in the minds of all of us that a few battle ships on each side would have saved the conflict at last and the cause of it at first.

Mr. President, most wars of recent times have been settled by their navies; and what has been the cost of these wars? We talk about the great expense of four battle ships. Those four battle ships, as I have shown, before we had our war with Spain would have settled that conflict by diplomacy. We did not have them. We got into the conflict because of that.

What was the cost of that in money by the lowest estimate? More than one billion dollars, and those who take another view of it from what I do place the cost at more than \$1,400,000,000.

Was that all? No; the life of every soldier who fell beneath the flag.

AN ECONOMY.

"Economy!" "A stitch in time saves nine." *Four battle ships, costing a few million dollars, would have saved us hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of priceless lives in the Spanish conflict.*

I am amazed and astounded when Senators talk about "economy" in so grave a question as our national safety and our national honor. It is "economy" to maintain peace. It is *always extravagant to go to war*. We can maintain peace, as I have shown you from these historic examples in our own experience and under our very eyes, by an adequate preparation for war.

The expense of the Navy! Well, Mr. President, we are not the only good business nation in the world. The English are businesslike, perhaps the greatest commercial nation the world ever saw, and they have the greatest navy in the world. Those hard-headed, conservative business men and shopkeepers of Great Britain have as a matter of financial policy considered that to have a navy double the size of any other European country was for her the greatest "economy."

The English people are perhaps the best merchants the world ever saw, except only the ancient Phoenicians, in whose naval policy they concur. Has anybody ever supposed that they were building their navy for anything but reasons of "economy?" But they have considered the lessons of history, they have considered the lessons of our war with Spain, of Russia's war with Japan, and they have seen that the expenditure of a few million dollars on battle ships so as to make the navy so large that no nation could go to war with them was the best "economy" for their exchequer and the best prudence for the lives of their subjects.

Germany, Mr. President, is supposed to be a provident nation. Has anybody ever heard that the prudent, the saving, the cautious, and the commercial German people were not economical? And yet they are maintaining a great navy. Let no man suppose that it is the opinion of the German Emperor that does this.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. In one moment I will yield. He could not lift his finger upon this great naval national programme if

he was not backed up by the German people. Ever since he gave expression to that famous motto of statesmanship with which he started out, "Drang nach Osten"—Push to the East—and that other great commercial maxim, "Germans, our future is on the ocean," the German people have been back of him, and have reinforced him in his naval policy; and the German people, economical, prudent, farseeing, businesslike and wasting never a cent, have, as a matter of economy, embarked upon a policy of the greatest possible navy they can have.

Now, I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. PERKINS. I dislike exceedingly to interrupt the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. That is all right.

Mr. PERKINS. I simply rose to ask a question for information. Great Britain has the largest navy in the world. We are second only to Great Britain. Within the past few years she has been through a great war. I want to ask the Senator from Indiana if her navy prevented her from having the Boer war.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Without her navy she would have been totally helpless in the Boer war. It was her navy—

Mr. PERKINS. It did not prevent it.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. It did not prevent it, because it was exclusively a land war. It is getting late, or I would cite more examples. I say that but for her navy England would have been engaged not in innumerable, for I want to be moderate, but in numerous wars within the last fifty years. Whether the Senator thinks this or not, that seems to be the view of the British statesmen, backed up by the hard-headed, plodding, slow-thinking, sane, safe, and considerate commercial English people; and perhaps they know their business.

Now, I come to the French. Their providence in money matters is proverbial. Yet I shall show in a moment the number of battle ships that they have now laid down and that they have provided for. France, mark you, is a republic. Germany is a limited monarchy. We all know about England. Is it possible that these three most economical people in the world, in deciding on this great naval policy for themselves, have deliberately determined upon a policy of extravagance? No, Mr. President; they have determined upon a policy which will insure their people peace. That is the reason why they do it.

Mr. President, the frugality of Japan is known throughout the world. Every man who visits that wonderful Empire is consumed with admiration for the frugality as well as for the courtesy and the industry of that people. They are not spending an extra cent where they can help it. Their resources are not great; neither are Germany's resources great. Yet Japan, of necessity having to have an "economical" policy, is also building up a great navy.

Have Senators ever thought of the differences in the resources, for example, of Germany and the American Republic? They are not to be compared, they are only to be contrasted. Yet with comparatively meager resources she is building up one of the great navies of the world. I shall come in a moment to her naval programme.

Take, for example, the navy which Japan is building up. Japan with a niggardly soil upon her hillsides, Japan with not many resources, Japan with few mines, but Japan with a wonderful energy that is capturing the markets of the East—what is she building a navy for? To use it against anybody? To use it against China? No; for China has no navy. To use it against England? No; for England is her ally. To use it against France? No; for she makes loans in France. To use it against Russia? No; because Russia's navy is destroyed. To use it against Germany? No; because their interests do not conflict. Against whom, then? Against us? Certainly not. We are on friendly terms and I hope always shall be.

Mr. KEAN. We have Japanese loans also.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Perhaps we have. I do not know how much loans we have; but, anyhow, it could not be against us, because we are friendly. We opened their ports to the world.

Now, then, for whom is this great navy being built by Japan? Why, it is too clear. It is not being built for anybody. They are just wasting the people's money on purpose. They are building a navy as a practice, an adventure. It is too plain that they can not use this navy against anybody. It is too plain that the statesmen of Japan are taxing their people until those people's backs are bending under the burden for no purpose on earth.

Mr. President, I want to call attention to what we have paid for our Navy compared with other powers. I have heard that we have made extravagant appropriations. I have the figures here. It is just as well to consider figures once in a while in their large meaning. I find that the estimated wealth

is, of the United Kingdom, \$59,000,000,000; France, \$48,000,000,000; Germany, \$40,000,000,000; Italy, \$15,000,000,000; Russia, \$32,000,000,000, and the United States \$107,000,000,000.

According to our comparative wealth which our unprotectedness lies open to attack, our expenditure for naval appropriations for 1904, the time these figures stand for, was a fraction under one-tenth of 1 per cent, while that of Great Britain was over 2 per cent, that of France was 1.3 per cent. Ours was infinitely less, not a little less, not twice as small, but *tremendously smaller than the appropriation of any other naval power in the world compared with our resources.*

Now, I want to call the attention of Senators to another fact. In the *last seven years* Great Britain has spent in her naval programme \$1,200,000,000. The total appropriations for the United States Navy, beginning with 1883 (the practical beginning of the new navy), up to and including June 30, 1907, amount to \$1,244,651,029.94, or the same amount practically that Great Britain has spent in the *last seven years alone.*

Great Britain has spent in *seven years* last past as much as we have spent in the *last twenty years*, from the time that William C. Whitney began the construction of our modern Navy. This covers a period of twenty-four years, and represents all appropriations of every kind for naval purposes, including the conduct of naval operations during the war with Spain.

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me, I am sure he does not mean to do an injustice—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. No; I do not.

Mr. LODGE. To the ex-Secretary of the Navy. The new Navy was begun by Secretary, afterwards Senator, Chandler. The first three ships were built under his administration, and he did what was even more important—he secured from Congress the percentage limitation on the repair of ships, which put the old ships out and enabled us to get new ones.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I am very glad indeed for the Senator's correction. It has been stated so often, and it illustrates the point in this debate, that Mr. Whitney was the founder of the new Navy that I have taken it for granted, as I have seen so many things taken for granted here that are not investigated. [Laughter.]

Mr. HALE. When the Senator arrays the expenditures of Great Britain, and says that in the seven years they have spent as much as we have spent in twenty-odd years, he must remember that a very much greater part of England's expenditures is made upon the maintenance and running of her immense fleet already built, and extending back for years. But if the Senator will take the programme for the building of new ships for the last five, six, seven, or eight years, aside from the running expenses of the Department, he will find an entirely different condition. I have it here stated.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I have it. It is 25 per cent of the total.

Mr. HALE. I am not talking about the total.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I am talking about new construction.

Mr. HALE. In the last few years we are beating all the world except England, and I think we are almost or quite up to her on new construction.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. No, Mr. President; I have the figures here.

Mr. McCREARY. The Senator from Indiana was just referring to the commencement of the new Navy. There is no doubt but that the appropriation of money was made and the first battle ship was built while Mr. Whitney was Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Now, Mr. President, I will not dwell longer upon the financial side of this question. I have shown the tremendous *economy in actual cash*, in human life, and in the progress of civilization itself which a comparatively small expenditure would have made in the recent history of this country, of Russia, and of Japan.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. GORE. I merely wish to inquire whether it is the practice in Japan to let contracts for battle ships exclusively to Japanese contractors, requiring them to be built exclusively in Japanese shipyards, or whether the Japanese Government lets contracts for battle ships to other bidders, without reference to the residence, citizenship, and nationality of bidders or the location of the shipyards?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I will say to the Senator that I have a very distinct impression, an impression so distinct, I will say, I might call it a fact—but I am determined this afternoon to be careful about every statement I make—that Japan has every Japanese shipyard filled with new construction of battle ships, and that, in addition, she is building so rapidly that she

has had one, and possibly two, constructed abroad. At all events, the building of the new navy of Japan is proceeding with great speed. That is as near as I can answer the Senator.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. HALE. The question raised by the Senator from Oklahoma is answered, I think, by the statement that the internal development of Japan has been such that within the last two or three years most of her building is in her own yards. Before that she went outside. I suppose what the Senator wanted to establish was the fact that Japan did not insist upon building everything at home with home material. That is undoubtedly true, but more so in the past than at present. However, the extent of the real programme of Japan is not so great as the Senator from Indiana believes. But that will be brought out later in the debate.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. GORE. I desire to ask the Senator from Maine a question. Is it true that Russia has recently contracted with English shipyards for the construction of six large battle ships, exceeding, I believe, the capacity of the *Dreadnought*?

Mr. HALE. No; I do not think that is true. It has been rumored, but there is no proof that it is true. Russia has made contracts heretofore and is now making contracts outside of her own country and her own yards. In fact, our yards have furnished ships for Russia.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Now, Mr. President, I come to the question of the comparative navies of the world as they are building to-day. It must be remembered that since the Russo-Japanese war the question of naval warfare has undergone a revolution, just as is always the case after a great war, and there is progress in naval construction. It is now considered by every naval authority in the world, I believe, without exception, that the approved type of a vessel both for offense and defense is the great battle ship of the *Dreadnought* type.

England has or is building of this type *eight* great battle ships unequaled in the world, the *Temeraire*, the *Bellerophon*, the *Superb*, the *St. Vincent*, the *Vanguard*, and the *Collingwood*, and has one more on this year's programme. She is also building what are called great armored cruisers, but those armored cruisers are equivalent to a battle ship. I have it upon the highest possible authority that within two weeks a great constructor of the British navy, who perhaps I ought not to name, has declared in private conversation that there is no substantial difference between the battle ships of the *Dreadnought* type and the armored cruisers of the eighteen and nineteen thousand ton type. It is a very easy device to which nations resort to call a new vessel not a battle ship, but a cruiser.

Of these cruisers she has now or building *five*, making substantially in all *thirteen* of the most modern and powerful battle ships in the world.

Of France there are *six* of the *Danton* class. That is, nearly 19,000 tons.

Mr. LODGE. Before the Senator leaves the English list—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. England has one of the large type of the *Dreadnought* afloat; she has three building, and three authorized, but not begun.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. And one more. That is what I said.

Mr. LODGE. I do not find the one more.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I am very much obliged to the Senator for confirming my own information.

Mr. LODGE. She has only one afloat and three building; that is all.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I said, and my words can be proven in the Record, that she has either building or afloat—

Mr. LODGE. Four.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Building makes it more important than if they were already afloat, because they are on the stocks. She has all told, authorized, building, and afloat, eight.

Mr. LODGE. The eighth I do not find on this list.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I have this authority directly from the Department itself.

Mr. LODGE. This is the official list that I hold in my hand, and I am looking for the eighth, but I do not find it.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. There is one more, and I shall tell the Senator how he will find it. It is on this year's programme. You will find it under that caption.

Mr. LODGE. It is not yet adopted.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Yes.

Mr. LODGE. Parliament has not passed the naval estimates this year.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. But it will pass it. There is no question about that.

Mr. LODGE. I am not speaking about what it will do.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. The Senator from Maine gave a statement of the Navy a moment ago and included these two battle ships.

Mr. LODGE. They have not begun on them yet.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. But they have authorized three or four.

Mr. LODGE. Now, about the cruisers. I only find three large cruisers.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. There are three of the *Invincible* type and two of the *Lord Nelson* and *Agamemnon* type, which makes five.

Mr. LODGE. The *Lord Nelson* is a battle ship and not a cruiser, and is no bigger than our *Connecticut*. She is not of the class I am speaking of—armored cruisers. The *Shannon*, the *Minotaur*, and the *Defense* are 14,000-ton cruisers. The only three big cruisers are the *Indomitable*, the *Inflexible*, and the *Invincible*, and those are building.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I think my information, which I am giving now—and the Senator is confirming it—is quite as accurate as that the Senator can have; and I find in this statement—

Mr. LODGE. I am not confirming it, I think.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Then, overthrowing it—whatever the Senator is doing.

Mr. LODGE. I am only trying to get the facts.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I do not know whether the Senator is insinuating that I am not giving the facts here or not.

Mr. LODGE. I am not insinuating anything, Mr. President. I am trying to get the facts as to the number of British ships.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. And I am trying to give them.

Mr. LODGE. And I have here before me the official statement, which shows one *Dreadnought*, three building of that class, and three which are authorized, and it shows three large armored cruisers building.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Now, is the Senator through?

Mr. LODGE. Yes; I believe I am for the moment.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. We have heard the naval policy of these other powers minimized. The *Danton* class is 18,350 tons. They are practically *Dreadnoughts*; and there are "six more of 21,000 tons each," which are proposed for this year.

Mr. HALE. France has no such programme as that.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. The Senator from Maine says that France has not. I say upon the authority which I hold in my hand here, which I am sure is the most accurate that can be obtained by our Government, that France has this programme for this year.

Germany has four now building. The first, the *Nassau*, has been launched.

Three of programme 1908. Money already voted, and to be begun at once.

For several succeeding years, THREE ADDITIONAL BATTLE SHIPS PER YEAR HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED.

In addition to these battle ships, armored cruisers to equal the English *Invincible* have been authorized at the rate of one per year, commencing 1906. THAT MAKES FOUR of the greatest war ships on all the oceans to be built EACH YEAR.

In Japan the actual facts could not be found, but we all know that they have the "*Satsuma* (19,200 tons) launched, of the *Dreadnought* class; *Aki* (19,800 tons) launched; and two battle ships (about 20,000 tons) to be laid down this summer." The world knows that much; and the world also knows that Japan like other nations know very little of what she really is doing.

That is as far as we can get information concerning the construction programme of the navy of Japan.

That is what other powers are doing. Why, then, should Senators hesitate about these four battle ships?

Consider Brazil. Even Brazil is now building in England three battle ships of 19,200 tons each—three *Dreadnoughts*. That is Brazil, mind you.

Mr. HALE. How many has she got now?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I do not know how many she has got now. Perhaps she is just building as we began to build our Navy some time ago. I shall come to our Navy in a moment.

When we find just what the naval programmes of other nations are, we find that this request of the President is modest compared with what they are actually doing.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Yes; I do.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator from Indiana has evidently given great attention to this subject, and I hope, before he con-

cludes his remarks, he will give us the benefit of his advice and judgment about how large a Navy we ought to have.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Yes; I will. I will, indeed. To begin with, I would say that the first thing is that, considering all that has been stated in figures and facts, we ought to begin it and, if necessary, end it by granting the prayer of the President of the United States, solemnly made to us at this juncture. If it eventuates next year that they are not needed, nothing is lost; we do not have to build any more. If it eventuates that they are needed, our failure to build them or start them will be an error which no sum of money can repair.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Yes; I do; certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suppose the Senator's information which he has been giving the Senate the benefit of is the result of an original investigation on his part?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. It is.

Mr. ALDRICH. We are here having a responsibility for legislation which is equal, from my standpoint, to the Executive responsibility, and I hope the Senator will be willing to state what his own personal judgment is about what the size of the American Navy should be, and that he will not fall back upon any other man's judgment, however exalted that personage may be.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I will give the Senator my independent judgment; and I am very much obliged to the Senator for his reference to the fact that this represents an original investigation hurriedly made by myself, which it does.

I can say that the limit at this particular juncture, as a matter of independent judgment, which I hesitate and am very loath to give, in view of the naval programmes of other nations, should be not less than four first-class battle ships, and, more preferably, five or six, for this year, at least. *Let every other power know, as they will know, that our resources are utilized and ready for conflict, and then, Senators, we shall have no conflict. I do not believe, myself, we shall, and I pray Heaven we shall not.*

It is just that feeling in my heart that makes me in favor of four battle ships at this juncture. The Senator from Rhode Island is no more careful of the people's money than I am, nor is the Senator from Maine. The Senator is no more economical than any other Senator here. He is equally patriotic with us. *It is a question of peace and a question of economy, not only of hundreds of millions of dollars, but of thousands of lives, that impels me to be in favor of four battle ships. If I had been in public life and had the opportunity before the Spanish war, I would have been in favor of four battle ships.*

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator bear with me while I ask him another question?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have never been fortunate enough to have been connected in the Senate with any committees which have had to do with naval affairs, but I have taken great interest in discussions which have taken place in this Chamber from time to time, and I have noticed from year to year, sometimes from month to month, the standard of progress in naval construction and in naval vessels has been changed. I have been here long enough to have heard Senators and others discuss this question and decide that a certain type of vessel was the very best and highest type, was a perfected type, and yet it has been stated on this floor to-day by the Senator from Washington [Mr. PILES] that the American Navy is composed of obsolete ships.

Mr. PILES. Mr. President—

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I am coming to that myself.

Mr. ALDRICH. Now, does the Senator believe that we have at last arrived at perfection and that the type of ships which he is now advocating in an indefinite number will not be obsolete next year?

Mr. PILES rose.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Let me answer that. First of all, we are not advocating an indefinite number. We are advocating a definite number for this time, namely, four. Second, we do not propose, at least so far as my mind is upon the subject—and I think it absurd—that there should be a fixed naval programme as to increase or decrease, any more than that a business man should have a fixed idea that he will do a hundred thousand dollars more business this year, and no more and no less. It is a question of wisdom created by conditions.

Third, the Senator asked me if I expect that we have now reached perfection in naval architecture. No. I say to the

Senator we have not, nor have we in anything else human. It would be one of the most melancholy incidents of my life if I ever came to the conclusion that we had reached perfection or that human beings ever could reach perfection. There are some who have reached the point where they believe that there can be no more progress in this world; but I am one who believes that there is unending progress. There is progress even in fashions. The Senator would not for a moment think of arraying himself in such clothes as Daniel Webster wore in this Chamber. He keeps up with the styles.

Certainly, there will be changes. It was no doubt thought in the time of the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere* that the *Constitution* was the most perfect type; but the times change; the world moves; humans advance; and we must keep pace with them. Would the Senator say on that point that our Army should to-day be armed with Springfield rifles just because we had them on hand, left over from a former period? Would the Senator say that a farmer ought to stick to the old-style heavy plow, or that he should still cling to the flail, instead of the thrashing machine? Does the Senator think we have reached perfection in agricultural implements and that invention should cease?

Does not the Senator think it is good business for a farmer to get the most up-to-date machines as they appear to till his ground and harvest his crops? Does not the Senator get the newest and latest typewriter that will most easily do his work? Why should we not, therefore, keep pace with naval advance throughout the world? We have the richest country in the world—many times richer in resources than the other powers—and does the Senator think it is economy, just because we have battle ships of a certain type, now out of date, oldtimers, and almost out of condition, and because they are called "battle ships" that we should cling to them? I answer the Senator "No." We have not reached perfection in naval architecture; neither have we reached perfection in anything human; and we never will. That is one of the wisest ordinances of the Creator, that we are to progress, travel, discover, and invent, and then enjoy the fruits of the genius of man.

Now, Mr. President, another consideration—and I want to get through as soon as I can. You will observe in history and from immediate, recent, and contemporaneous facts that *it is the nation with the small navy that is always in trouble*. Take Turkey. The papers were full the other day of the fact that Italy was sending its fleet to Turkey. We hear that every year. Always some power is descending upon Turkey. Now, I call the attention of the Senator from Maine to the fact that Turkey has absolutely no potential navy, but that she has a navy only on paper.

Mr. HALE. I was going to ask the Senator whether he thinks that it is a pertinent illustration on this question to cite Turkey, which has no navy, as being powerless and defenseless and open to the assaults of other nations, when our nation already has the second navy in the world?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. No; I will show the Senator in a moment that we have not the second navy in the world.

Mr. HALE. Does the Senator think that is a fair illustration under the circumstances?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. We will see. I am pointing that out, I will say to the Senator, to show that it is the undefended nations that get into trouble; that is, to the degree that they are undefended they get into trouble. For example, when Japan had her war with China she had a navy sufficient for that war, sufficient for China; but she did not have a navy sufficient for Russia, Germany, and France combined, and therefore she was robbed of the Liaotung Peninsula. If she had had six more battle ships, she would not have been robbed of it; and there would never have been a Russo-Japanese war. That is what I mean to show.

Take China. If China had had a navy commensurate to meet the navy of Japan, there would never have been any Chino-Japanese war. Every student of history knows that. Take the Central and South American States. They have been unmolested precisely to the extent that they have been powerful. Has any body troubled Chile? I have just cited the instance of Japan losing the Liaotung Peninsula.

Does the Senator, does any Senator—but I will withdraw the question before it is asked—want us to become another Spain? Why, Spain had on paper—and not only on paper, but in the opinion of every admiralty in Europe—a navy equal to our Navy at the beginning of the Spanish war, but as a matter of fact it was obsolete. It was not the "man behind the gun" that lost the battle of Santiago, so far as the Spaniards were concerned. They were brave men; they died at their posts, with few exceptions; but the ships could not move at their registered speed; they were deficient; they were defective; they

were obsolete, and while they were all right on paper they were all wrong in battle; and Spain lost her possessions and received the greatest humiliation that ever fell to the proud people of the Cid. Does any Senator want us to go to war with a fleet of that kind?

The Senator from Maine asked the Senator from Washington a little bit ago about our own Navy. The Senator said that we had thirty-one battle ships. Now, Mr. President, that is true, so far as the names on paper are concerned, but of those battle ships eleven, in view of the developments of recent naval warfare, are out of date. They are of too low tonnage. Some of them have been in commission so long that they must soon go out of commission. Six of those eleven are in need of most extensive overhauling. Eleven of our battle ships in a modern war with any modern power would be useful chiefly for coast-defense purposes. Of the remainder of our battle ships, we have but two of the *Dreadnought* class, and they are building. That is all we have got, and if we authorize four more we will have only six of the *Dreadnought* class—fewer than any first-class power in the world has, according to the programmes already completed and adopted.

Mr. President, that is all I have to say about our Navy, but I want to call attention to this, because I do not want to leave anything out. I heard a point made on the floor in one of those private discussions that sometimes are so persuasive. It was asked why should we build any battle ships when we are now 1,200 officers short? Why, Mr. President, that we are 1,200 officers short is not the case. In the first place, that estimate includes the full manning of every ship of every kind we have, from the *Dakota* to a scow, in commission and out of commission. In the second place—

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I do, certainly.

Mr. PERKINS. I desire to call the Senator's attention to the testimony of the Secretary of the Navy before the House committee, in which he stated that we were eighteen hundred and forty-six officers short to-day to man the ships we have in service and those that are building.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I knew the Senator was going to make that point, and that is the reason I made it myself. Mr. President, why does not the Senator go further and tell the Senate the Secretary's and the President's reason for that? I hold in my hand a message from the President of the United States sent to us two years ago, and I think he has repeated it once, begging us to pass a law concerning the personnel. There is an abundance of officers in the lower ranks for every ship we have got or contemplate, but Senators and Representatives have not been willing to pass a personnel law so that the midshipmen could take the rank of officers. Every battle ship, I believe, has on board from eighteen to twenty-two midshipmen. There are plenty of officers if you will only give them all rank.

Why Congress has not done that at the repeated demands of the Department and of the President I do not know. There are plenty of officers, but they are young officers. Why do not Senators and Representatives make way for them in active service? The President, in this impressive message which I hold in my hand, shows that by reason of this we show an apparent lack of officers, which really does not exist, because we have the men, but we have not got the rank; that is all.

But he also shows another startling fact. The captains in the navy of Great Britain are of an average age of 35 years; in the French navy, 47 years; in the German navy, 42 years; in the Japanese navy, 38 years, and in the United States Navy, 55 years; and the discrepancies in ages of admirals and commanders is even worse. That is the answer to the statement, which is another paper statement, true on paper but not true in fact, that we have not enough officers. We have enough officers, in fact, if you will give them the rank.

It is strange that America, the youngest nation in the world, should not have her Navy manned by men who are at least as young as those of other powers. The average age of our captains is 55, while that of the English captains is 35. The average age of seagoing flag officers is, in the navy of Great Britain, 45 years and in ours 59 years.

Remove the impediments, and the officers are there. Besides, if you authorize these battle ships, it would take three or four years to build them, and in that time the Naval Academy could graduate many more officers. They are already there and are open to the Navy, and if they are given rank they will add from 600 to 800 or 900 more first-class and well-educated officers.

Here is another consideration that I want to lay before the Senate. If this country were divided by the Mississippi River into two countries, each country would have a great navy.

Each would be rich enough and proud enough to maintain an independent navy as large as the one we now have. Does the fact that we are not a divided nation, but a united Republic, change the fact that we have two great sea lines of the world on two different coasts? Does any man question the fact that if the Mississippi River divided this country in two there would be a great navy on either coast? Is there any reason why there should not be an equally great navy on the same coasts because this country is one country? We have got to come to it.

A FLEET ON EITHER OCEAN.

As I said the other day, the people of the country are demanding that *we shall have an equally great navy on either coast*. I think the consensus of opinion of the people of America is that the fleet now on the Pacific ought never to leave those waters; and I do not believe the American people would ever permit it to be ordered away if we had facilities there for overhauling it, for cleaning it, and for putting it in repair. The exigencies and the conditions throughout the world, our two great coast lines—coast lines greater than those of any other three nations in the world put together—demand that we shall have as one Republic what we certainly would have if we were two republics—a navy on either ocean.

Now, Mr. President, I wish the attention of Senators to this. I do not know that it will be very influential with their minds, but with my mind it is. We are about to vote upon this naval programme asked for by the President. I ask each Senator when he casts his vote to think of this question: *How would foreign nations have you cast your vote to-night? How would England or Germany or France or Japan have you cast your votes, if either one of them could dictate it? Does anybody believe that the chancellors of the world, who are looking on this vote which will occur in a few minutes, would not rejoice if the President's request is defeated?*

I think, Mr. President, that in a grave and purely national question like this it is a matter of determining influence, at least to my mind, to vote as the consensus of the American people would have me vote and not as the consensus of foreign statesmen would have me vote.

Here is another question, a practical question, a serious question. Suppose it were possible that that should occur which all of us so fervently pray may not occur, but that which in the past has occurred, certainly and with the wisest men not being able to foresee it. Suppose war should eventuate between us and any country for any cause. What will those who vote against this solemn prayer of the Commander in Chief say to the American people for that vote for unpreparedness? So far as I am concerned, as one who does not want war but above all peace, I do not want that responsibility upon me. It is something that you may smile at to-night, but if that dread hour came, you could not smile in the face of indignation of the American people who would rightfully demand an accounting.

THE APPEAL OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

Mr. President and Senators, the Chief Executive of the nation, in his capacity as Commander in Chief of the Navy, says:

There is imposed upon me the solemn responsibility of advising the Congress of the measures vitally necessary to secure the peace and welfare of the Republic in the event of international complications which are even remotely possible. Having in view this solemn responsibility, I earnestly advise that the Congress now provide four battle ships of the most advanced type.

Does any man in any country think that a President of the American people would utter those words lightly? Is any Senator, no matter how much we may get fixed to an idea, willing to say that the President does not know what he is about? I call the attention of Senators to the fact that our present President of the United States is, by the actual record of facts accomplished, the greatest peacemaker in the world. It was upon his brow that the laurels of the Nobel peace prize were laid. It was his arm that stretched out and stopped that awful conflict which set every river of Manchuria running red to the sea and convulsed the world with horror.

Theodore Roosevelt did that. He was the only man in all the world who had the initiative and daring and the confidence of mankind sufficient to do it. His whole record has been that of a man who prays for peace and who compels peace. Is it possible that such a man, a man of whom to-night, regardless of party, all Americans are proud, and who, as one of the first English periodicals the other day said, looms mountainously high as the first citizen of the world, is praying for this little increase to the Navy for light causes?

I call the attention of Senators to the fact that it was he who convened or set those forces in motion that convened The Hague Conference the time before last. It was he who more than anybody else except one ruler of a monarchy urged that the nations should proceed with disarmament. It was his fondest prayer, as the record of his life shows, that that would be accomplished.

At that time he proposed no increase in the Navy. But The Hague Conference met; twice it has met. Twice his best efforts for disarmament have proved fruitless. Other nations of the world go ahead in building up great navies. They have outclassed us completely in modern battle ships. We are not in the second class, in fact. We are not in second place in the *Dreadnought* class, which is the type of the modern battle ship. No, we are in a far lower position.

Now, when the President, who, as I have said, by the consensus of the world is the first peacemaker on this earth, has failed to get the nations to agree to disarm, and comes and asks for four battle ships to match the *six that France is building* and the *eight that England is building*, and the *four that Germany will build each year till 1947* (all this, too, IN ADDITION to the mighty and modern navies those powers already have) shall we haggle about the few million dollars that we must spend to build them, which may save, if the Spanish war is an example, hundreds of millions of dollars? Which is "economy?"

I want to say just one word of appeal to my friends upon the other side of the Chamber, and that is this: I think every man knows that this is not a partisan question. War is not a partisan question, once we face it or the danger of it or get into it. We can not "play politics" with a thing of this kind. It is a patriotic question, if it is any question at all. We are trifling with the people and worse than trifling with the people if we are merely doing this for vanity and the "playing of politics." I appeal to all Senators, quite as much to Senators on this side as to those on the other side, because there are many votes against this measure upon this side, let all considerations of partisanship go and regard this question as a question of preparation to preserve the peace. Let us rise to the height of patriotism.

Mr. President, I know the word has gone around to "stand by the committee." It is a cry which I respect. I usually do it myself. I think every Senator of experience here usually "stands by the committee." Usually it is a legitimate cry. But it is not a legitimate cry under these circumstances if you are doing anything more than trifling. If we are in favor of this programme and are in earnest, then it is not a consideration. I do not answer it by an appeal to stand by the President, but I do answer it by an appeal to stand by the country. I do answer it by an appeal to make sure of that peace which we all cherish equally.

LET US ACT SO THAT WAR WILL NEVER COME.

I call attention to the fact as to what navies have done in the past. I wish I had time to refer to it more extensively. But I call attention to the fact that almost from the beginning of history clear up until the present time it has been the navies which have defended liberty and advanced civilization. It was the navy of the Greeks at Salamis that drove back the Persian invaders. It was the navy of Octavius at Actium that overthrew the combination of Antony and Cleopatra. It was the Christian navy of Venice which at Lepanto drove back the Moslem hordes, saved Europe for Christianity, and changed the history of the world. It was the navy of England which at Trafalgar first halted the power of Napoleon and started his inevitable fall.

It has been our Navy that has won every one of our foreign wars. If there is no possibility of war—and I hope there is not—then every dollar that is spent for this purpose is a theft of the people's money. If there is any possibility of war, then our Navy ought to be upon a basis equal to it.

Mr. President, I have concluded. We ask these ships not for war, but for peace. With all my soul I pray God that war may never come; *but let us to-day act so that war never can come*. If it does come, we can not build ships when hostile guns are thundering. The conflict would be ended before a keel could be laid. We can not buy ships during the struggle; they are contraband and prohibited.

The Commander in Chief solemnly asks for these ships. The American people, as shown by the clippings which the Senator from Washington [Mr. PILES] has read, ask these ships.

Senators, they ask them of us in the name of peace, which these ships will guarantee and preserve.

They ask them in the name of the nation's interests, which the very existence of these ships will secure from molestation.

They ask it in the name of the nation's honor, which these ships will guard, uphold, and defend.

They ask it in the name of the women and children who will be made widows and orphans if war should ever come; and our votes to-night should be that such a war never may come.

This hour may come to be historic. Our gallant American Navy is itself on its knees before the American Congress begging for this reinforcement. Its Commander in Chief is praying for this reinforcement. The American people—Senators, do not doubt it—are demanding that we accede to their request. His-

tory sustains them all. The future warns us to take this measure of simple prudence. Let us do it, Senators. Let us do it, and build such a white squadron that it may always be painted in the white garniture of peace and never with the dull tints of war. Let us make our Navy so powerful that the flag above it will float over the most modern navy of the most modern of peoples—a people that will do no wrong or injustice to anyone and that will suffer wrong and injustice from no one.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, it is so late that, while I hope the discussion is nearly at an end, it will be impossible to finish it to-night.

Mr. CULLOM rose.

Mr. HALE. The Senator from Missouri desires an executive session, and I suppose the Senator from Illinois rose to make such a motion.

Mr. CULLOM. Yes.

Mr. HALE. Very well.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. CULLOM. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, April 25, 1908, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 24, 1908.

UNITED STATES JUDGE.

Milton Dwight Purdy, of Minnesota, to be United States district judge for the district of Minnesota, vice William Lochren, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Capt. William S. Cowles to be a rear-admiral in the Navy from the 23d day of April, 1908, vice Rear-Admiral Samuel W. Very, retired.

Commander Alexander Sharp, an additional number in grade, to be a captain in the Navy from the 23d day of April, 1908, vice Commander York Noel, promoted.

Pay Inspector Charles S. Williams to be a pay director in the Navy from the 5th day of April, 1908, vice Pay Director Lawrence G. Boggs, retired.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

Medical Department.

Capt. Thomas J. Kirkpatrick, assistant surgeon, to be surgeon with the rank of major from April 22, 1908, vice Ives, retired from active service.

POSTMASTERS.

INDIANA.

Robert F. Brammer to be postmaster at Albany, Delaware County, Ind., in place of Robert F. Brammer. Incumbent's commission expires April 27, 1908.

Robert H. Bryson to be postmaster at Indianapolis, Marion County, Ind., in place of Henry W. Bennett, resigned.

Hugh S. Espey to be postmaster at Rising Sun, Ohio County, Ind., in place of Hugh S. Espey. Incumbent's commission expired April 21, 1908.

LOUISIANA.

Mary G. Pearsall to be postmaster at Bogalusa, Washington Parish, La. Office became Presidential April 1, 1908.

Mildred P. T. Prescott to be postmaster at Litcher, St. James Parish, La., in place of Mildred P. T. Prescott. Incumbent's commission expired March 1, 1908.

MINNESOTA.

Edward L. Bjorkquist to be postmaster at Moorhead, Clay County, Minn., in place of Edward L. Bjorkquist. Incumbent's commission expires April 27, 1908.

Lemuel S. Briggs to be postmaster at Princeton, Millelacs County, Minn., in place of William Cordiner. Incumbent's commission expired March 4, 1908.

NEW JERSEY.

Charles L. Flanigan to be postmaster at Riverton, Burlington County, N. J., in place of Ogden H. Mattis, removed.

NEW YORK.

Robert J. Buck to be postmaster at Watertown, Jefferson County, N. Y., in place of Robert J. Buck. Incumbent's commission expired April 19, 1908.

A. M. Lanpher to be postmaster at Lowville, Lewis County, N. Y., in place of Alfred G. Boshart. Incumbent's commission expired February 26, 1907.

NORTH DAKOTA.

George F. Abelein to be postmaster at Anamoose, McHenry County, N. Dak., in place of Albert Albrecht, resigned.

OREGON.

William H. Leitner to be postmaster at Huntington, Baker County, Oreg., in place of William H. Leitner. Incumbent's commission expires April 27, 1908.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Harry B. Clary to be postmaster at Grampian, Clearfield County, Pa., in place of Harry B. Clary. Incumbent's commission expired April 9, 1908.

William H. Flora to be postmaster at Wrightsville, York County, Pa., in place of William H. Flora. Incumbent's commission expires April 27, 1908.

TENNESSEE.

John P. Gibbs to be postmaster at Dresden, Weakley County, Tenn. Office became Presidential April 1, 1908.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 24, 1908.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Herbert Morissey, of Massachusetts, to be collector of customs for the district of Plymouth, in the State of Massachusetts.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. Commander Robert B. Higgins to be a commander in the Navy from the 30th day of January, 1908, vice Commander Isaac S. K. Reeves, promoted.

Midshipman Robert W. Spofford to be an ensign in the Navy from the 13th day of February, 1908.

Boatswain George E. Plander, on the active list of the Navy, to be a chief boatswain, to rank with, but after, ensign, on the retired list of the Navy, from the 7th day of May, 1908, the date upon which he will be retired, in accordance with the provisions of an act of Congress approved June 29, 1906.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Kent C. Melhorn and Lee W. McGuire, citizens of Ohio, to be assistant surgeons in the Navy from the 11th day of April, 1908, to fill vacancies existing in that grade on that date.

POSTMASTERS.

INDIANA.

Samuel P. Yenne to be postmaster at Shoals, Martin County, Ind.

KANSAS.

Charles Hodgson to be postmaster at Mulvane, Sumner County, Kans.

George W. Hook to be postmaster at Sabetha, Nemaha County, Kans.

M. M. Michael to be postmaster at Burrton, Harvey County, Kans.

MICHIGAN.

Charles H. Baird to be postmaster at Holly, Oakland County, Mich.

MONTANA.

Lottie M. Conyngham to be postmaster at Kendall, Fergus County, Mont.

NEBRASKA.

James H. Overman to be postmaster at Stella, Richardson County, Nebr.

William Royer to be postmaster at Seward, Seward County, Nebr.

NEW JERSEY.

Thomas J. Knight to be postmaster at Stanhope, Sussex County, N. J.

PENNSYLVANIA.

David Farrell to be postmaster at West Middlesex, Mercer County, Pa.

Caroline E. Hall to be postmaster at Swarthmore, Delaware County, Pa.

John Roland to be postmaster at New Holland, Lancaster County, Pa.

UTAH.

William Glasmann to be postmaster at Ogden, Weber County, Utah.

Stephen W. Ross to be postmaster at Lehi, Utah County, Utah.

WASHINGTON.

John O. Wilson to be postmaster at Cosmopolis, Chehalis County, Wash.

WISCONSIN.

Irving L. Bonniwell to be postmaster at Hartford, Washington County, Wis.

Warren I. Griffin to be postmaster at Viola, Richland County, Wis.

Charles Pfeifer to be postmaster at Plymouth, Sheboygan County, Wis.

George A. Robbins to be postmaster at Sheboygan Falls, Sheboygan County, Wis.

Eugene S. Turner to be postmaster at Port Washington, Ozaukee County, Wis.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, April 24, 1908.

[Continuation of the legislative day of Monday, April 20, 1908.]

The recess having expired, at 11.30 o'clock a. m. the House was called to order by the Speaker.

RAILROAD TRACKS TO WASHINGTON NAVY-YARD.

The SPEAKER. The pending question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill H. R. 20120, which was, by unanimous consent, substituted for the bill originally embraced in the motion of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH].

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. PAYNE. I make the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. Evidently no quorum is present. The doors will be closed. The Sergeant-at-Arms will notify absent Members. As many as favor the motion will, as their names are called, answer "aye," as many as are opposed will answer "no," and those present and not voting will answer "present." The Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken, and there were—yeas 249, answered "present" 13, not voting 125, as follows:

YEAS—249.

Adair	Douglas	Jones, Va.	Porter
Adamson	Draper	Jones, Wash.	Pray
Aiken	Driscoll	Kahn	Rayney
Alexander, Mo.	Durey	Kelfer	Randell, Tex.
Alexander, N. Y.	Dwight	Keliher	Rauch
Allen	Ellerbe	Kennedy, Iowa	Reeder
Ames	Ellis, Mo.	Kennedy, Ohio	Reynolds
Andrus	Ellis, Oreg.	Kinkaid	Rhinock
Ansberry	Englebright	Kipp	Richardson
Anthony	Esch	Kitchin, Claude	Robinson
Ashbrook	Fairchild	Knapp	Rothermel
Bannon	Favrot	Knopf	Russell, Mo.
Barclay	Ferris	Knowland	Russell, Tex.
Bartlett, Ga.	Fitzgerald	Küstermann	Ryan
Bartlett, Nev.	Floyd	Lamar, Mo.	Sabath
Bates	Foss	Lamb	Saunders
Beale, Pa.	Foster, Ill.	Laning	Scott
Beall, Tex.	Foster, Ind.	Law	Shackleford
Bede	Foster, Vt.	Lee	Sherwood
Bell, Ga.	Foulkrod	Lenahan	Sims
Birdsall	French	Lever	Slemp
Bonyuge	Fuller	Lewis	Smith, Cal.
Booher	Fulton	Lindbergh	Smith, Iowa
Bowers	Gaines, Tenn.	Littlefield	Smith, Mich.
Boyd	Gardner, Mich.	Lloyd	Smith, Mo.
Brodhead	Gardner, N. J.	Longworth	Smith, Tex.
Brownlow	Garner	Loud	Snapp
Burgess	Garrett	Loudenslager	Southwick
Burleson	Gilbams	Loving	Sparkman
Burton, Del.	Gillespie	McCall	Sperry
Butler	Gillett	McGavin	Spight
Byrd	Glass	McGuire	Stafford
Calder	Gedwin	McHenry	Stanley
Calderhead	Goldfogle	McKinlay, Cal.	Stephens, Tex.
Candler	Gordon	McKinley, Ill.	Sterling
Capron	Granger	McKinney	Sulloway
Carter	Gregg	McLachlan, Cal.	Sulzer
Cary	Griggs	McLaughlin, Mich.	Talbot
Chapman	Gronna	McMillan	Taylor, Ala.
Clark, Mo.	Hackett	McMorran	Taylor, Ohio
Clayton	Hackney	Macon	Thistlewood
Cocks, N. Y.	Hale	Madden	Thomas, Ohio
Cole	Hamilton, Iowa	Madison	Tirrell
Cook, Colo.	Hamilton, Mich.	Mann	Tou Velle
Cook, Pa.	Haskins	Marshall	Townsend
Cooper, Tex.	Hawley	Maynard	Underwood
Cousins	Hay	Miller	Volstead
Cox, Ind.	Hayes	Mondell	Waldo
Craig	Heflin	Moon, Pa.	Wanger
Cravens	Helm	Moore, Tex.	Washburn
Crawford	Henry, Tex.	Morse	Webb
Crumpacker	Hinshaw	Mouser	Weeks
Dalzell	Hitchcock	Murdock	Wheeler
Darragh	Holliday	Murphy	Willett
Davenport	Houston	Needham	Williams
Davidson	Howland	Nelson	Wilson, Ill.
Davis, Minn.	Hubbard, W. Va.	Nicholls	Wilson, Pa.
Dawson	Hughes, N. J.	O'Connell	Wood
De Armond	Hull, Tenn.	Olcott	Woodyard
Denby	Humphrey, Wash.	Padgett	Young
Denver	Humphreys, Miss.	Page	
Diekema	James, Oille M.	Parker, S. Dak.	
Dixon	Jenkins	Payne	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—13.

Bennet, N. Y.	Hamlin	McDermott	Slayden
Gaines, W. Va.	Hardwick	Moon, Tenn.	
Goebel	Hardy	Roberts	
Goulden	Kimball	Sherman	

NOT VOTING—125.

Acheson	Edwards, Ky.	Hull, Iowa	Perkins
Barchfeld	Fassett	Jackson	Peters
Bartholdt	Finley	James, Addison D.	Pollard
Bennett, Ky.	Flood	Johnson, Ky.	Pou
Bingham	Focht	Johnson, S. C.	Powers
Boutell	Fordney	Kitchin, Wm. W.	Pratt
Bradley	Fornes	Lafean	Prince
Brantley	Fowler	Lamar, Fla.	Pujo
Broussard	Gardner, Mass.	Landis	Ransdell, La.
Brumm	Gill	Langley	Reid
Brundidge	Graft	Lassiter	Riordan
Burke	Graham	Lawrence	Rodenberg
Burleigh	Greene	Leake	Rucker
Burnett	Haggott	Legare	Sheppard
Burton, Ohio	Hall	Litley	Sherley
Caldwell	Hamill	Lindsay	Small
Campbell	Hammond	Livingston	Steenerson
Carlin	Harding	Lorimer	Stevens, Minn.
Caulfield	Harrison	Lowden	Sturgiss
Chaney	Haugen	McCreary	Tawney
Clark, Fla.	Henry, Conn.	McLain	Thomas, N. C.
Cockran	Hepburn	Malby	Vreeland
Conner	Higgins	Moore, Pa.	Wallace
Cooper, Pa.	Hill, Conn.	Mudd	Watkins
Cooper, Wis.	Hill, Miss.	Norris	Watson
Coudrey	Hobson	Nye	Weems
Currier	Howard	Olmsted	Weisse
Cushman	Howell, N. J.	Overstreet	Wiley
Davey, La.	Howell, Utah	Parker, N. J.	Wolf
Dawes	Hubbard, Iowa	Parsons	
Dunwell	Huff	Patterson	
Edwards, Ga.	Hughes, W. Va.	Pearre	

So the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

For the day:

Mr. POWERS with Mr. PRATT.

Until April 28:

Mr. LOWDEN with Mr. HARRISON.

Mr. CAULFIELD with Mr. HARDY.

Until further notice:

Mr. GRAHAM with Mr. PETERS.

Mr. TAWNEY with Mr. WOLF.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. WEISSE.

Mr. HENRY of Connecticut with Mr. LASSITER.

Mr. MCCREARY with Mr. HOWARD.

Mr. GREENE with Mr. LAMAR of Florida.

Mr. COUDREY with Mr. HOBSON.

Mr. BENNETT of Kentucky with Mr. EDWARDS of Georgia.

Mr. ADDISON D. JAMES with Mr. KIMBALL.

Mr. MUDD with Mr. WALLACE.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania with Mr. WILEY.

Mr. HULL of Iowa with Mr. SLAYDEN.

Mr. HEPBURN with Mr. LIVINGSTON.

Mr. LANGLEY with Mr. HAMLIN.

Mr. ROBERTS with Mr. BROUSSARD.

Mr. HAGGOTT with Mr. WILLIAM W. KITCHIN.

Mr. BARTHOLDT with Mr. DAVEY of Louisiana.

Mr. CHANEY with Mr. HILL of Mississippi.

Mr. FASSETT with Mr. HARDWICK.

Mr. GAINES of West Virginia with Mr. RUCKER.

Mr. CALDER with Mr. HAMILL.

Mr. BENNET of New York with Mr. FURNES.

Mr. HUGHES of West Virginia with Mr. BRANTLEY.

Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. BRUNDIDGE.

Mr. BURKE with Mr. BURNETT.

Mr. BURLEIGH with Mr. CALDWELL.

Mr. BURTON of Ohio with Mr. CARLIN.

Mr. CAMPBELL with Mr. CLARK of Florida.

Mr. CONNER with Mr. COCKRAN.

Mr. COOPER of Pennsylvania with Mr. FLOOD.

Mr. CUSHMAN with Mr. GILL.

Mr. DUNWELL with Mr. WATKINS.

Mr. FOCHT with Mr. HAMMOND.

Mr. FORDNEY with Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina.

Mr. HARDING with Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky.

Mr. HAUGEN with Mr. LEAKE.

Mr. HOWELL of New Jersey with Mr. LEGARE.

Mr. LAFEAN with Mr. MCDERMOTT.

Mr. JACKSON with Mr. MOON of Tennessee.

Mr. LAWRENCE with Mr. McLAIN.

Mr. PARSONS with Mr. 'POU.

Mr. OLMSTED with Mr. RANDELL of Louisiana.

Mr. PEARRE with Mr. REID.

Mr. POLLARD with Mr. SHEPPARD.

Mr. RODENBERG with Mr. SMALL.

Mr. STURGISS with Mr. THOMAS of North Carolina.

Mr. MALBY with Mr. PATTERSON.